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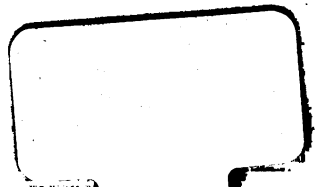

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

HOLLAND,
FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,
LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
The UKRAINE,
AND
POLAND,

IN THE

Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

In which is particularly Minuted,

THE PRESENT STATE

OF

THOSE COUNTRIES,

RESPECTING THEIR

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,
MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,
THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS,

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

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Travels through Flanders.

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FROM Middleburgh I ſet out for Sluys, the 27th of June; part of the way I was forced to take a ſailing-boat. There is nothing in that town which is worth the ſhorteſt ſtay; I only dined there, and in the afternoon reached Bruges, having paſſed through a country pretty well cultivated. I fixed my quarters by recommendation at the Half Moon, where I found extreme good accommodation, and much civility.

Bruges is an antient and extenſive city, walled in, the circumference being near five miles. There are near three hundred ſtreets

in it, and a vaſt number of canals and rivers; but notwithſtanding a degree of ſpaciouſneſs, yet it is not an agreeable place; the houſes are in general very old, and extremely ugly, and the whole place ſhews evident ſigns of decay, and a loſs of that trade and manufacture for which it was once famous. They reckon ſix ſquares, ſeven gates, eight churches, and no leſs than ſixty monaſteries; a woeful ſort of population, inſtead of the induſtrious manufacturers which once filled the city; among the reſt, there is a nunnery of Engliſh, which ſeveral Roman Catholic families in England have contributed to fill.

The churches of Bruges have not any thing in them very remarkable; the beſt is the Jeſuits, which is an elegant edifice. In the church of our Lady, there are two fine monuments of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and his daughter and heireſs, Mary of Burgundy; they are of braſs, with much enamelling; the workmanſhip good.

What makes this place have a very melancholy air, are the vaſt houſes ſtanding empty in every part of the town, which once were the reſidence of wealth and ſplendor. Among others, they have ſeventeen palaces, which, in the times of their proſperity,

ſperity, were formerly the reſidence of conſuls from various kingdoms and ſtates in Europe. This town was famous for trade, before Antwerp aroſe, being the greateſt mart in Europe; England made it the ſtaple for her wool, and its cloth manufactories were much more conſiderable than thoſe of any other place or country. Bruges, at preſent, is not without trade. The Oſtend canal admits ſhips of from 2 to 300 tons up to the heart of the city, which makes more trade here than in any other town in Flanders. The merchandize imported by the ſhipping on this canal, is ſent to many places from Bruges, particularly by the Scheld to the city of Ghent, and from thence, by other canals, to various cities; and that river, with the Scarpe and the Lys, reach to Tournay, Menin, Liſle, and Doway: they have likewiſe a communication with Antwerp, Louvaine, Mechlin, and Bruſſels. They have alſo ſome manufactures, which employ many of their poor, particularly in broad ſays, bays, and other fabricks.

From Bruges to Oſtend, I took the treckſchuyt; the diſtance is twelve miles, which they perform in three hours. It paſſes through a level country, the ſoil inclinable

to ſand, but very fertile, and well cultivated. That town is ſmall, but well built, and clean, and does not exhibit ſo much decay of antient greatneſs as Bruges. It is ſituated in the midſt of a ſalt marſh, with ditches into which the ſea is let; this ſituation makes it ſtrong, but the improvements in the modern art of attacking places will not allow it the fame of ſuch another ſiege as that which it ſtood againſt the Spaniards, which laſted three years, and in which above an hundred thouſand men on both ſides fell; the French, in 1745, took it in eight days open trenches. It has of late years been moſt noted by the Eaſt India company, which the Emperor eſtabliſhed here, and which the maritime powers perſiſted in bullying him out of. It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that thoſe powers ſhould have the modeſty to puſh that affair in the manner they did; for why the Emperor ſhould not have the liberty to form what eſtabliſhments he pleaſed in a ſea port, in his own dominions, is much more than any of the Engliſh or Dutch memorials ſatisfy us in.

The 29th, I got to Newport, by a canal from Oſtend thither; this is a moſt pitiful fiſhing town, ill built, diſagreeably ſituated, and has nothing to afford a traveller any amuſement.

amuſement. After dinner, the landlord of the inn, who is by birth an Iriſhman, brought me a bill, in which he had charged a pair of ſoals at ſixteen ſhillings, though they were of a moderate ſize, and notwithſtanding my reckoning, honeſtly reckoned, came to near a guinea: it was a piece of impoſition which I was determined not to ſuffer. Upon my refuſal to pay the bill, he was exceedingly impudent; he would carry me before the Eſchevin: "Very well," replied I, "let us go to the Eſchevin; I "will attend you now." This eaſe of return diſappointed him. I wanted much to get to Dunkirk that night, which was not more than four and twenty miles, and had beſpoke a chaiſe for myſelf, and a horſe for my ſervant; and the raſcal of a landlord, finding that I did not purpoſe making any ſtay at Furnes, took it for granted, that time muſt of all things be moſt precious to me, and therefore thought, that rather than loſe any, I ſhould willingly ſubmit to any impoſition; but finding me reſolute, he was at a nonplus. He offered to abate a ſhilling: "No, no, Sir, that will not do, you "ſhall go to the Eſchevin with me." This threat had its effect; the raſcal at once dropt his ſixteen ſhillings to a crown, well ſatis-

fied, I have no doubt, with double what the magiſtrate would have allowed him. Had he gone to him, he would probably have been more ſeverely mulcted. Here let me take occaſion to warn my countrymen, in travelling through any part of Holland or Flanders, to avoid inns kept by any of their own countrymen; I know very few exceptions to the rule of finding all the inns kept by Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſh, mere traps to catch the unwary travellers.

Furnes is a little paltry place of no conſideration, but Dunkirk demands more attention. This place, which has made ſo much noiſe in modern hiſtory, is twenty-four miles from Oſtend, twenty from Calais, and fifty from Dover. Trade, and privateering, with the King's buſineſs, which is in courſe executed here, makes it populous and flouriſhing. It is very well built; the ſtreets are broad, wide, and well paved. The fortifications before their demolition, I imagine, were very good; what they are at preſent, I know not, but moſt certainly not demoliſhed; the harbour never was any thing formidable to England, not admitting any larger ſhips than frigates; but the ſituation is ſo advantageous to cruizers, that the King's frigates, and a multitude of privateers, made an infi-

nity

nity of prizes, and it proved, in this manner; one of the moſt pernicious thorns that could be in the ſides of the trade of England. There are five ſquares in the town, all of them planted with trees, but they have not any thing very ſtriking in them. The method alſo of building is not favourable to the beauty of the ſtreets, for all the beſt houſes have court-yards before them, and great gates into the ſtreets. In one of the churches there is a picture of St. George, by Rubens, which has very great expreſſion. The arſenal was once very well worth ſeeing, but is ſo no longer. Dunkirk carries on a conſiderable commerce, not only by being a free port, but alſo from principally ſupplying Liſle, and ſeveral other places of importance, with every thing they import, and ſending forth whatever they export. The whole way from Bruges to Dunkirk is through a moſt rich ſoil, the graſs and corn all as fine as ever I ſaw.

The ſecond of July I left Dunkirk, taking a chaiſe for St. Omer's; the diſtance is twenty miles, and through a country very richly cultivated. I obſerved great quantities of clover in the fields, which was a ſecond growth, the firſt having been cut ſome time before; it was now thick, and of a luxurious growth;

growth; the wheat crops were not at all ſuperior (judging by the eye) to what is often ſeen in England. Cole ſeed they cultivate alſo; they were tranſplanting it on ſmall ridges, which, if I recollect right, is contrary to the Engliſh way of managing that crop; we ſow it like turnips; the Flemings think their way much the beſt; and certainly it cleans the ground better than if all of it was ſo covered as to let the weeds ariſe. I remarked ſeveral fields of turnips, but nothing in them extraordinary. Some tracts of country between theſe towns is light and ſandy, but none in which the ſoil is bad.

St. Omer's is a large, and apparently a populous town, well and regularly built, and very ſtrongly fortified; but what moſt contributes to its ſtrength is the ſituation, which is in the midſt of a moraſs, ſo that by means of ſluices, (of which they have an amazing number) they can lay the whole neighbourhood, for ſome miles, under water. The Jeſuits college here is a very handſome building, conſiſting of two large ſquares; they are called Engliſh Jeſuits, and a great number of them were born in the Britiſh dominions. The Abbey of St. Bertris is a fine edifice; from the tower, the conductor aſſures you, that you may, in a clear day, ſee the

the coaſt of England; but it is a falſhood. There are ſome very conſiderable manufactories at St. Omer's, particularly of cloth, druggets, duroys, ſhalloons, and ſtockings, which are flouriſhing; theſe are moſtly carried on by means of wool ſmuggled from England.

The ſame country and cultivation extends from St. Omer's to Bethune, as from Dunkirk to St. Omer's, only the woods are more frequent: it is but a ſmall town, but neat; the fortifications are very ſtrong.

The fourth of July I reached Arras, which is a conſiderable city, the capital of Artois; it is a populous and induſtrious place, ſituated upon a hill, at the foot of which runs a branch of the river Scarpe. The fortifications are reckoned very ſtrong, eſpecially the citadel. The buildings are handſome, the ſtreets ſpacious, and well paved. The principal market-place is an oblong, with piazzas round it, but they have a diſagreeable effect. They talk of having above an hundred churches and chapels belonging to this city, which ſounds very magnificently, but they are moſt of them too trivial for notice, mean buildings, or crowded into holes and corners. The edifice moſt worth ſeeing is the Benedictine abbey, which enjoys

joys a revenue of thirty thouſand crowns a year; the pictures, carving, and monuments, are very well worth notice. Arras poſſeſſes a conſiderable trade in her own manufactures, particularly in linen and woollen fabrics, and is very famous for tapeſtry.

From hence I made a ſmall excurſion to Cambray, through a very fertile country, that is extremely well cultivated; I was informed that that city was as well worth viewing as moſt in Flanders, but I cannot ſay it anſwered my expectations. The fortifications are curious, particularly the citadel built by Charles V. which is a regular pentagon, cut moſtly out of a rock. The manner in which the principal ſtreets are laid out, to point to the market-ſquare, like the rays of a circle to the center, is ſtriking: that ſquare is remarkably large, and the Stadthouſe, which fronts it, is a fine building. In the great church, they ſhow a chiming clock, the work of a country fellow, which, as ſuch obſerves notice, but has not in any other reſpect merit enough to ſtrike a ſpectator uſed to ſuch ſort of works. But my principal view in coming to Cambray, was to ſee the famous cambric manufactory, which has been eſtabliſhed here ſo long, and is ſo deſervedly famous. They certainly

certainly make that kind of linen to a perfection unknown at any other place in Europe; pieces of a great length weigh but a few ounces; they make it up to ſeventeen ſhillings an ell, but it is of an amazing fineneſs. I made numerous enquiries into the ſtate of this manufacture, and from ſeveral perſons well informed, and they ſeemed uniform in their opinions, that it is much upon the decline: they attribute much of this evil to the prohibition of it in England, to which kingdom their exports uſed to be very great; but now they are confined to the ſmuggling trade, which, though not trifling, bears no proportion to what they once poſſeſſed. The numbers of men, women, and children, employed in Cambray, and ſome adjacent villages, on the manufacture of cambric, does not fall ſhort of ſeventeen hundred. The men earn at an average, at the rate of five ſhillings and ſixpence a week, Engliſh; women, that are good hands, two ſhillings to three and ſixpence; and children, from a penny to ſixpence a day; but theſe prices are when the employment is full, for at ſome ſeaſons they have much time without being able to get work.

Returning to Arras, I took a chaiſe for Doway the ſeventh, and found it a fine place, ſituated

ſituated very well in the midſt of a territory remarkably fertile, ſuperior, I think, to any I have lately ſeen; it is large, ſeems full of people, and is ſtrongly fortified, like Cambray; the ſtreets in it point regularly to the market-place, where is alſo the Town-houſe. The univerſity conſiſts of fourteen colleges, which they ſay are in a flouriſhing condition. Fort Scarpe is a vaſt out-work to Doway, ſo well placed, that by means of ſluices at command, it can drown all the adjacent country.

From Doway to Tournay the country is very rich, and much of it cultivated in a maſterly manner: the account which a farmer gave me of their method of managing their lands, is, I think, curious. They never give what we in England call a fallow; that is, a year of mere tillage to kill all weeds and meliorate the exhauſted ſoil. They think the only good purpoſe of ſuch a fallow is to kill weeds, but that the ſoil receives no other benefit from it. That on the contrary, they can ſow it with crops, which will kill the weeds equally with any fallow, and at the ſame time much enrich it: this appeared to me ſo very deſirable, that I liſtened to it with attention. Of theſe crops, turnips, rape, beans, and clover, were, I found,

found, the principal; what peculiarity they may have in their management, I do not know, but theſe plants are as common in England as they are in Flanders, and yet the huſbandry does not ſeem near ſo good. Rape they cultivate for the ſake of the ſeed, from which they extract oil, for which purpoſe there are many mills through all this part of Flanders. They prepare their lands richly for it, both by tillage and manuring; plough it into regular ridges, and then plant on them: it muſt be very expenſive; they hand-hoe the plants carefully, to keep them free from weeds. As to the produce, the accounts they gave me were not very clear, but from the beſt computation I could make, it amounts one year with another to ſix or ſeven pounds an Engliſh acre. Turnips they prepare for in the ſame manner as rape, but tranſplant only a part of their crop; ſome they ſow where they are to remain: they likewiſe hand-hoe their turnips as well as the rape; uſe them chiefly for the winter-food of cows and oxen, all which animals are regularly houſed, and the turnips given in mangers. They do not approve the Engliſh way of feeding turnips on the land; but as I wanted to know their reaſon for this, I enquired their motives: they think the

the land would parch and be damaged, and the crop would not go near ſo far: whether they are right or wrong, I am no judge to decide, but what they urge ſeems to have reaſon in it. An Engliſh acre of turnips they reckon worth four pounds: ſome crops they leave for ſeed to make oil from, mixed with rape ſeed; and ſuch crops pay as well, and ſometimes better, than rape.

But their principal fallow crops they reckon the clovers, of which they have three ſorts, bearing a red, a yellow, and a white bloſſom; the firſt produces the greateſt crops, but will not laſt more than two years; the other ſorts yield a ſweeter food for cattle, and will laſt five or ſix years, but the red is moſt in uſe. They ſow it with barley and oats, in the ſame manner that I believe is common in ſome parts of England: after harveſt, the field is covered with a full crop, which ſupports a great number of cattle almoſt till Chriſtmas; and this paſturage on their beſt lands is ſo great, that it ſometimes pays all the expences of the year's crop, and leaves the barley clear profit. The following year they mow the clover for hay, and get no leſs than three crops; and from what I viewed, I ſhould ſuppoſe each would produce a ton and half on an Engliſh acre,

and

and ſometimes more. The next year, if they leave it ſo long, they uſually feed it: and theſe crops of clover, though ſo very plentiful, they aſſert, improve the land, which is poſſible, to be ſure, but I cannot eaſily comprehend how ſuch ample productions can do that benefit to the land; however, the Flemiſh farmers have experience on their ſide; for, upon giving theſe clover fields only one ploughing, they harrow in wheat, and get very fine crops, and as clean, I think, as any I ever ſaw in England: whether our management of clover is upon this method, I am not acquainted, but if not, I apprehend it would be worthy the imitation of the Engliſh farmers. This clover preparation for wheat is in general on a pale reddiſh loam; here and there they have fields of clay, where it will not ſucceed. Another uſe to which they put their clover, is, I believe, quite unknown in thoſe parts of England with which I am acquainted; it is that of mowing, and giving it green to cattle in houſes, inſtead of letting them eat it in the field; they aſſert, that in this mode of conſuming it, one acre goes as far as ſeveral: certainly it merits a trial.

Their bean crops conſiſt of many of the large ſorts common in England, and whole

fields of the kidney ſort, which we call French beans: all theſe they ſow in rows, and keeping them very clean by hoeing, get great crops, and fallow them with wheat or barley. Their wheat, I do not think, appears finer than what I have ſeen in England, but their barley is much ſuperior. They ſeem to be very attentive huſbandmen in the article of manuring their lands: I obſerved ſeveral pits in the country paved and roofed for keeping mixtures of dungs in; the human they eſteem the beſt.

There is a fine range of rich meadow land about Tournay. That town is large and well built, and the river Schelde running through it, has many bridges, with ſeveral handſome quays planted in the Dutch manner. It appears to be populous. In the cathedral are ſeveral monuments of braſs and marble, that are very well worth viewing. The altar-piece of St. Martin's is of marble, richly adorned, and is fine; but the moſt deſerving of attention in this church, is the picture by Rubens, of the crowning of our Saviour; in which the deſign, dignity of expreſſion, and colouring, are remarkably fine. The fortifications of Tournay are ſome of the fineſt in Flanders; the citadel being eſteemed the maſter-piece of Vauban;

all

all the works of it are undermined. There are ſeveral flouriſhing linen manufactures here, with ſome of ſtockings and worſted pieces, but the former are the principal.

From Tournay to Liſle, the country is all fertile and rich: I ſaw ſome fields planting with coleſeed, in which I counted more than thirty hands to a field, and they ſeem to execute it with great celerity. Liſle is the principal city of all theſe parts, at the diſtance of fifteen miles from Tournay. It is a large city, and more populous than any I have been in ſince I left Holland, to which, indeed, its garriſon does not a little contribute, for it conſiſts of ten thouſand of the beſt troops of France. The regularity and ſpaciouſneſs of the ſtreets, with many of the buildings, make it really a very fine city: in the center of it is a great ſquare, to which the principal ſtreets lead. *La Rue Royale* extends above a mile, and is one of the fineſt I have any where ſeen.

The fortifications are among the moſt famous in Europe, not having been taken ſince the Duke of Marlborough took the city, after three months open trenches. The citadel is not regular, but very large, and uncommonly ſtrong. In France, they

reckon this place, next to Paris, the moſt important in the kingdom.

They have a French opera, and a theatre for comedies, but neither of them abound with capital performers; the prices are cheap, yet the company is often very good. There are people enough in Liſle to maintain a great number of hackney coaches.

They carry on ſome very conſiderable manufactures here, particularly of linens, broad and narrow cloths, and druggets, many ſorts of ſtuffs and ſtockings, and more than ſeven hundred looms are employed in making camlets. Great numbers of calimancoes, and other ſtuffs wrought of ſilk and mohair; theſe fabrics are in general flouriſhing, though not equal to what they were above twenty years ago; there are, however, many thouſands of hands employed in them.

It may not be wrong to add here, that I met with an excellent reception at the *Palais Royale*, in St. Martin's-ſtreet; excellent rooms, a good bed, and proviſions and wine unexceptionable; but, in return, the bill is not moderate; I could not live there under a guinea and half a day, though I had no horſes. Dearneſs, when every thing is good, is to be ſubmitted to, but when met with,

as is often the caſe, where every thing is bad, it is not a little grating.

July 11th, I took a chaiſe from Liſle to Courtray, which is fifteen miles, moſt of the way through a country equally rich with the preceding. It is a pretty town, and very populous from the manufactures carried on in it, particularly of woollen and linen goods; for the latter of which, they are very famous: none, however, are in ſo flouriſhing a condition as they were for ſome years before the laſt war.

From Courtray to Ghent, the country does not appear to be quite ſo fertile as that through which I have lately travelled, but the huſbandry is very good. They are here extremely attentive to manuring; I remarked ſome labourers carting out the compoſt from a bricked ſtercorary; upon enquiry, I found it was filled with the riddance of privies from Courtray, mixed with fine molds, and a ſmall quantity of aſhes. It had been before turned over to mix the ingredients well: they informed me, that a large quantity of earth ſhould be mixed with the dung, and that this compoſt is of all manures the moſt fertilizing. A leſſon which I ſhould apprehend very important to the farmers within ten miles of all great cities.

Ghent is one of the largeſt cities in Europe, being near fifteen miles in circumference. It is built on a large number of little iſlands, formed by four rivers, and many canals, over which there are an hundred bridges: but large and pompous as this account is, I muſt obſerve, that the reality bears no proportion to the deſcription; more than half the ground within the walls being occupied by gardens, and there are ſome fields. As to the fortifications, they are contemptible, being little more than lines for an army to encamp within. Some of the ſtreets are large, well paved, and tolerably built. Among the public buildings, there are none worthy of any attention but a few churches. They have very flouriſhing linen manufactures throughout all this country; but they are not confined to Ghent, though there are many in that town, but all the villages, and almoſt every farm, is a flax manufactory. Flax is a principal crop upon all the ſandy parts of this country, and the farmers and labourers do not only grow it, but alſo dreſs and weave it, and the women and children ſpin it. Every little farmer has one or two looms, many of them five or ſix, and ſome ſeven or eight, according to the number of hands in the family. This makes the

the whole race of country people remarkably active and induſtrious; the ſervants, and the farmer, and his ſons, will weave linen of nights, and in wet days, when they have not employment in the farm, and in this manner contribute greatly to earning a better income and maintainance for their families, than in other countries where ſuch time is appropriated to idleneſs. Beſides theſe linen fabrics, they have at Ghent ſome ſilk and woollen manufactures.

The 13th, I took a chaiſe from Ghent for Bruſſels; the diſtance is about thirty miles, which I performed with eaſe before dinner, and made two or three ſtops to have ſome converſation with the country people. The ſoil is middling, but not ſo good as I have ſeen in other parts of Flanders, but it is very well cultivated. I ſaw many fields of flax, which they keep remarkably clean from weeds: the crops ſeemed good. I alſo ſaw much fine clover, and pretty good corn crops.

I was drove directly to the Duke of Brabant's inn, where I fixed my reſidence, deſigning to ſtay a few days; my intention was to have hired private lodgings, but I liked the inn ſo well, and the treatment I received, that I changed my mind, and deter-

mined to remain at the inn. Bruſſels is far more beautiful, for the bombardment ſhe ſuffered from Marſhal Villeroy; for ſince 1696, the miſchief he did has been all made good by many new ſtreets and public buildings, in a much better taſte than they were before. Many of the ſtreets are well paved, ſome of them broad, and all the new houſes large and well built.

Among the churches of Bruſſels, there are ſome that well deſerve a traveller's notice. St. Gudula is a very remarkable Gothic pile, highly ornamented with monuments, chapels, pictures, &c. The Jeſuit's church has alſo ſeveral objects deſerving notice.

The great market ſquare is one of the fineſt I have any where ſeen: one whole ſide of it is taken up with the Town Houſe, which is certainly a ſtupendous building; there is a very magnificent apartment in which the States of Brabant meet; the hiſtory of Charles V. is wrought in the tapeſtry with a ſtrength and brilliancy of colouring that cannot be exceeded. There are other apartments, which contain numerous original paintings by the beſt Flemiſh maſters. Other great advantages the market place enjoys, is being ſurrounded with the corporation halls of different trades, the fronts of which

which being uniform, and adorned, make a fine circumference.

The regent's palace, though an old irregular building, erected at different times, ſhould not be paſſed over by any traveller. It is a very large edifice, and the apartments are extremely ſpacious and well furniſhed. Behind it, after croſſing ſome ſilly unmeaning parterres, you enter a large park, well planted and ſtocked with deer. There are many very agreeable walks in it. On one ſide of it is a ſummer-houſe, built by the Emperor Charles V.

Among the other edifices that are uſually viewed, are the palaces of Orange, now belonging to the King of Pruſſia; the Princes De Ligne, Epinoy, Rubengue, and Egmont; and the Dukes of Aremberg, Arſchot, and and Bournonville. In the gardens of the latter, you have a very fine view of the greateſt part of Bruſſels, and much of the adjacent country. I remarked, that the only objects of much conſideration in theſe palaces, were the paintings, among which, and particularly in that of the Duke d'Aremberg's, are many very fine and capital pieces, not only by the Flemiſh, but alſo by the Italian maſters. A connoiſſeur will find no

ſlight entertainment among theſe collections.

In reſpect to the diverſions of Bruſſels, there is a large Opera Houſe, and two theatres, upon which French comedies are repreſented. The Opera Houſe is very large, being more ſpacious than that in the Haymarket. Inſtead of boxes, in the London taſte, it has large cloſets after the Italian manner, which are hired for the ſeaſon by the nobility and foreign miniſters at a cheap rate; they contain tables, chairs, a fire, &c. ſo that parties are formed for cards and converſation during the performance. But the prices of admiſſion are too low to allow of great entertainment; their performers are but very moderate, and bad muſic is certainly an entertainment that will not be reliſhed by thoſe, who have been the leaſt acquainted with the luxurious entertainment which the Engliſh and Italian operas yield.

The fountains, of which they have above twenty, at the corners of the principal ſtreets, add much to the beauty of the city, and at the ſame time ſupply it well with water. They have a vaſt number of monaſteries, nunneries, and hoſpitals, ſome of which I viewed, but found nothing in any of them remarkable.

The

The keeping up a court gives an air of livelineſs to Bruſſels, that is more agreeable than what is found in moſt of the other cities in Flanders. What with the officers about the perſon of the governor-general; the reſidence of a conſiderable military; the chief courts of juſtice; with no ſlight portion of trade and manufacture, altogether render the place the moſt pleaſing and chearful reſidence in Flanders. They are famous for the manufactory of lace, which is in a flouriſhing ſituation; and alſo that of tapeſtry, which is known very well all over Europe.

I had a recommendatory letter to the Baron de Walmode, who received me with a politeneſs and affability which I cannot but acknowledge: he invited me to his table ſeveral days, and from his converſation, I learned more important information than I could otherwiſe have gained. His eſtates in Brabant and Flanders are conſiderable, and he lives in a ſplendid and elegant manner. The Baron is a man of enlarged ideas, has travelled through the principal countries of Europe, and ſeen much of the buſy world, while he was in the Imperial ſervice, but he quitted it at fifty years of age, and retired to Bruſſels, dividing his time between the city and his eſtates in the country, wherein he has

has two houſes which he has furniſhed for his reception, when inclined to rural diverſions, or retirement from the city. I wanted to be informed of the political ſtate of Auſtrian Flanders, the benefits accruing to the Houſe of Auſtria from the poſſeſſion, the revenues, &c. And in ſeveral of theſe points, the Baron gave me accounts which are much more to be depended on than the vague relations which we meet with in the Gazettes of the age.

He ſaid, that it was a miſtaken notion common in ſeveral of the courts of Europe, that the Houſe of Auſtria received ſo little benefit from the poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, that they were ſcarcely worth keeping, from the expences running away with all the profit. But all this he remarked was a miſtake, as more regularity has been thrown into the government of the provinces, into the receipts of the revenue, and the expenditure of it: encouragement has been given to trade and manufactures, and the effects have been very beneficial. But ſuppoſe, continued the Baron, that profit was not received in the treaſury at Vienna, ſtill the advantage of a conſiderable body of troops being paid and maintained, is one of the moſt important nature. The provinces pay the

the troops in garriſon, and the forces of all ſorts that are quartered here, which amount at different times, from ſix to twenty thouſand men, and the opportunity of advancing numerous ſubjects to poſts of honour and advantage, is valuable to any court.

Theſe provinces, continued he, are populous, and are found highly ſerviceable in recruiting regiments; and as they poſſeſs much trade, and numerous thriving manufactures, they are a body of ſubjects of undoubted importance. However, theſe advantages are not all, for it is very well known that conſiderable remittances are made to Vienna, notwithſtanding the expences of maintaining a court here.

Many ſchemes of improving the trade and manufactures of this country have been ſtarted, and laid before the council for the provinces at Vienna; ſome of them have been approved of, and begun to be executed, but ſuch things do not proceed with any very quick pace; yet ſomething good will probably reſult from them by and by.

The acquiſition of a ſhare in foreign trade, by means of a good port on the ocean, promiſes moſt, and Oſtend would certainly admit of very great exertions of this ſort; they have been conſidered of at court more than

than once; but the remembrance of the ill ſucceſs attending the Eaſt India company eſtabliſhed there, from the oppoſition of the Maritime Powers, prevented their execution.

All theſe improvements, though only a few of them are completed, have had aſtoniſhing tendency to raiſe the revenues of the country, and alſo the population of it; the Baron aſſured me, that in the laſt war, the Empreſs Queen drew conſiderable ſums from the revenues of theſe provinces, and great numbers of recruits. I obſerved to him, that there was in that war a report of her Imperial Majeſty's alienating them to France, in conſideration of aſſiſtance to recover Sileſia. He replied, that the out-line of that idea would have had a great appearance of probability, if France had been in a ſituation to undertake poſitively for the ſucceſs of a Sileſian conqueſt; for that province, from its ſituation, was certainly more valuable to Auſtria than Flanders: but the utter inability of France was ſo viſible and great, that it was impoſſible the Empreſs Queen ſhould be ſo deceived in her politics: nor is it clear, added he, whether ſuch a revolution would not have brought the Dutch into the war againſt France, in ſpite of all their fear and caution; for the Auſtrian provinces, in the

the hands of France, would be death to the liberty of Holland, as all the ideas of a barrier would be thereby deſtroyed, and the Dutch provinces lie open to every ſudden inroad that might be attempted. What the rulers in Holland would ſay to it, is not eaſily conceived, but the populace, and lower ranks, would drive them into oppoſition.

The juſtneſs of the Baron's obſervations, I think, is clear; and I own he convinced me, that there is no danger of ſeeing the Auſtrian Flanders in the hands of France, which would be almoſt as dangerous an event to England as it would to Holland.

Reſpecting the preſent ſtate of their manufactures, he informed me, that the government had exerted itſelf greatly in their favour, and in ſeveral inſtances with high ſucceſs, but that it muſt in general be little further than preventing a greater decline: that they had not one manufacture comparable to what flouriſhed in Flanders many years ago; that of laces was flouriſhing, but not near ſo conſiderable as formerly; and the ſame obſervation was applicable to thoſe of fine linen and tapeſtry: indeed the attention given to manufactures in every country and ſtate in Europe, cannot but have drawn much from the old fabric long eſtabliſhed:

no

no article of manufacture is found in Flanders, which is not ſtrongly rivalled by ſome neighbour or other. This, with the internal miſchiefs reſulting from freedoms of corporate towns cramping the workmen, are very prejudicial to all induſtry in theſe provinces: the latter obſtacle is much remedied by new regulations, but the former remains in full force.

Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, the fabrics of the Auſtrian provinces are by no means inconſiderable; the towns are thick, and all of them have ſome manufacture or other: their linens, laces, ſtockings, caps, cloths, druggets, carpets, &c. &c. are all conſiderable, employing great numbers of hands, and bringing much money into the country.

It was not without pain that I took my leave of the Baron on my quitting Bruſſels; I found very few people who had attended ſo much to the ſuperior intereſts of their country, or that underſtood them better. He had an enlarged idea of the politics of Europe, and ſeemed perfectly well to underſtand the true conduct of every neighbouring power.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From Bruſſels to Mechlin—Antwerp—Deſcription of that City, and of its fine Paintings—Journey to Ruremond—General Obſervations on Flanders—Number of Cities—Population—Trade—Manufactures—Agriculture—Situation—Political importance.

JULY 20th, I left Bruſſels, taking the road to Mechlin in my way to Antwerp; the diſtance is twelve miles, through a light ſandy country, not near ſo rich as what I had lately travelled, but their management of it ſeemed very good; though ſome of it was not cultivated at all, yet all that was under crops ſeemed to yield very good ones. Flax I obſerved to grow very well on theſe ſands, but they manured them very richly for the preceding crop. I ſaw much clover that was very fine, and many fields of barley and oats that almoſt rivalled the products of much better ſoils; but I do not remember ſeeing one crop of wheat. They plough here with much greater dexterity than ever

I ſaw in England; for the ploughman has no driver, although they uſe four horſes at a time; he has reins to all the horſes, and a long coach-whip, which he ſticks into a ſocket made on purpoſe to receive it in the beam of his plough: they uſe only wheel-ploughs, and the country people think that no plough in the world can equal their true Flemiſh one. I remarked their furrows, and found that they went very ſhallow; their motive for which, is keeping the good ſoil at top, which has been manured, and not ploughing down to the ſharp ſand, which has never received any improvement. On ſome low ſpots, between little ſandy eminences, they plant hops, which, by means of good manuring, and much cultivation, they make a profitable crop.

Mechlin is a conſiderable city, very well ſituated for communication and trade with Antwerp, Bruſſels, and Louvaine, by means of the rivers Dyle and Demer, which join before they arrive at this place, and united, run through it; there are beſides, ſeveral canals, and a great many bridges thrown over them. The ſtreets are in general well built, and the market-place is large. Mechlin is famous for the manufacture of the lace that goes by its name. It is chiefly made in the nunnery

nunnery of the Beguines; a kind of nuns, without thoſe vows which bind the common ones to the monaſtic life, being at liberty at any time to quit the confinement and marry; there are generally ſeven or eight hundred young women in it employed upon the lace, which brings a good price all over Europe. They are alſo famous in this place for founderies of bells, and great guns, and in an inferior degree for brewing good beer, which they export in conſiderable quantities. Mechlin is an agreeable place to reſide at, from the diverſions which are going on at it; this is principally owing to the number of nobility who make it their reſidence.

From Mechlin to Antwerp the road runs through a poor ſandy country, much of it waſte and covered with heath. That city is ſituated in a low fenny ſpot; but it is ſeven miles in circumference, ſurrounded with a good wall, and many baſtions faced with ſtone. Theſe fortifications, however, are of no other conſequence than to defend it againſt ſudden incurſions, but they are very beautiful, for the top of the wall is an hundred feet broad, and doubly planted with rows of trees. The only ſtrength of it is the citadel, which is the famous one erected by the Duke of Alva. It ſtands cloſe to the river Schelde,

on the South ſide of the city; it is a regular fortification, and very ſtrong, commanding all the town, and the adjacent country for ſome diſtance. There are five principal baſtions to it, which command each other, and defended by two very deep and wide ditches. It was the erection of this fortreſs that gave the great blow to the vaſt trade which Antwerp once carried on. Here was the ſtatue which the Duke of Alva cauſed to be made, repreſenting himſelf in a military attitude, trampling the nobility and people under feet; and which rouſed the ſpirit of the populace ſo much, that they broke into the citadel on a holiday, and utterly demoliſhed the ſtatue. Here are many conſiderable magazines for military ſtores, and barracks for a garriſon of four thouſand men.

The river at Antwerp is twenty feet deep, and at high water riſes twenty feet more, which makes it an excellent harbour, into which ſhips of the greateſt burthen may be admitted to unload their cargoes at eight of the principal canals in the town. Theſe were the advantages which carried their trade to ſuch a height; but the Dutch building Fort Lillo, which totally commanded the approach, and in conſequence making all ſhips that paſſed pay toll, was a fatal ſtroke to their trade,

trade, and drove the chief of it to Amſterdam.

Antwerp has many remains of its former magnificence, particularly in the breadth, length, and regularity of the principal ſtreets, and many of the public buildings and churches. It has twenty-two ſquares, two hundred and twelve ſtreets, and ſeven gates, from each of which runs a ſtreet, terminating at the cathedral ſquare. The ſtreet called La Mere is the fineſt in the city; it is very well paved, and is ſo wide, that five coaches may paſs in it abreaſt with great eaſe; it is alſo very well built, and in general of free ſtone: many of the other ſtreets alſo make a very good appearance, being broad, ſtrait, and handſome. The better ſort of houſes throughout the city are in general large, lofty, and contain good apartments. From the decay of trade, many of them are let at very low rates: moſt have court-yards and gardens, which make them very agreeable to live in; many of them are indeed in the antient ſtile of building, which is not ſo graceful in appearance.

The markets here are numerous, and moſt of them well ſupplied; that for fiſh is near the river, and abounds with great plenty that is excellent: and that for fruit and garden-

ſtuff is well ſupplied by numerous country carts, in which the peaſants bring the produce of their little farms; but much comes by water. One ſquare is called the Friday market-place, in which, of a market day, are to be ſeen many ſales by auction of furniture, and ſome of pictures, where are to be picked up ſometimes valuable pieces by Flemiſh maſters.

Nothing can be more melancholy than to view the houſe of the Hanſe towns, built in 1468, (a time in which this city was ſo flouriſhing) for the uſe of the merchants trading to the Baltic. It is a ſquare edifice of 230 feet, and all of ſtone: the upper floors were ample magazines for all ſorts of dry merchandize, with vaſt cellars for the wet goods, which are now converted to ſtabling for troopers horſes, and the magazines to hay-lofts; a ſad ſpectacle of the building which once was the reſidence of wealth and induſtry, and ſhews how miſerable a fall any place undergoes that loſes a once eſtabliſhed trade.

Very near the ſtreet La Mere is the Exchange, ſaid to be the firſt building of the kind raiſed in Europe; and from which Sir Thomas Greſham is ſaid to have taken his idea of that of London. Four ſtreets meet

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at it, and it has four great gates anſwerable to them: the parades are ſupported by above forty marble pillars; the length of it is 180 feet, and the breadth 140. Beneath it are vaults and magazines for goods, and over it are the apartments of an academy of painting, ſculpture, and architecture. The expence of this building is ſaid to have amounted to three hundred thouſand crowns, at a time when money was much dearer than it is at preſent.

The Stadthouſe is very well worth viewing; it is all of free ſtone, ſurrounding three courts, with a very magnificent front, decorated with ſtatues and a cupola. The Dutch, from an obſervation that the trade of Antwerp began to decline the year this building was finiſhed, have ſuperſtitiouſly delayed completing the Stadthouſe at Amſterdam, leaſt the ſame fate ſhould attend the commerce of that city; but their precaution has been vain, for their trade has greatly declined, notwithſtanding the unfiniſhed ſtate of their Town-houſe.

In this edifice are ſeveral paintings much deſerving the attention of the connoiſſeurs in that art, and among others are the following:

The virgin of Antwerp, by Abraham Janſſens. This is a very capital piece, it is naturally executed, yet with a minute expreſſion.

A holy family, by Gerard Zeghers.

Game and fowls, by Snyders; the figures by Rubens. This is one of the fineſt pictures in the collection; nothing can be more exact than the imitation of the game, and the figures are touched in Ruben's maſterly manner.

Three triumphal arches, by Rubens.

A whole chapel, painted by Henry Verbruggen, and very well executed. The altar and crucifix are the work of Michael Vervoort the elder; they are very fine.

Concord, by Abraham Janſſens.

An altar-piece admirably executed, by Cornelius Schut.

The elders exerciſing the bow, by Biget; the architecture by Herdenberg, and the landſcape part by Himmetraet. This appears to be a very valuable piece.

Antwerp was once the grand emporium of almoſt all the commerce in Europe, which was owing to three principal cauſes. Firſt, To the liberty which reigned here. Second, To the advantages of its ſituation and port, for above four thouſand ſail of ſhips

ſhips could lay in perfect ſafety in the canals at a time. And thirdly, To the near neighbourhood of the moſt flouriſhing manufactures then in Europe, which were carried on in all the Flemiſh towns. Bruges poſſeſſed the greateſt ſhare of trade before Antwerp aroſe to ſuch a height; but the wars which broke out in Flanders in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, drove moſt of the merchants from the former place to the latter. They reckon the trade of the city at its height about the year 1568, when they computed the inhabitants at two hundred thouſand: their harbour, at that time, contained very often 2500 ſhips at a time, and 500 were commonly ſeen to go out, or come in, in a day. The annals of the city inform us, that in the year 1550, the trade amounted to one hundred and thirty-three millions, excluſive of the bank. The Antwerpers, to this day, are fond of telling the ſtory of John Daens, their famous merchant, who lent the Emperor, Charles V. a million of gold, and afterwards entertained him moſt magnificently; had a fire of cinnamon, and, in the Emperor's preſence, threw the bond into it. But ſuch a tale as little becomes the modern city, as the action did the antient one.

But

But all their proſperity was no ſecurity againſt the tyranny of their Sovereign, Philip II. who I take to be a much more deteſtable monſter than Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, or Heliogabalus, for he had all their faults, (except low buffoonery) without any of their good qualities: this wretch of a monarch, and his blood-hound the Duke of Alva, preſently drove all trade from Antwerp, ſo that the fall of the city was much quicker than its riſe. After being twice ſacked, there was much of it burnt down in 1576, and brought into ſuch a condition, as was utterly incompatible with trade: the merchants therefore fled in whole troops; the Dutch received them; they had juſt formed their infant republic. Amſterdam began to be a place of trade; they removed thither, and carried with them their correſpondence and induſtry. At the ſame time the Dutch built Fort Lillo, in Zealand, which commanded the entry of the harbour, and made all ſhips pay toll; this gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the trade of Antwerp, which afterwards retained but few marks of that amazing commerce ſhe once poſſeſſed.

Upon the loſs of their trade, the inhabitants gave their attention principally to banking,

banking, jewelling, and painting. In the firſt they have always been proficients, and carried it to great extent, even in the preſent times: during the Duke of Marlborough's war, two brothers, the De Konnings, paid, one the army of France, and the other that of the Allies. Some of their painters were of note in the Flemiſh ſchool before the time of Rubens, but that great maſter laid the principal foundation of their fame; he eſtabliſhed their ſchool, and, under the influence of his genius, painting long flouriſhed here; ſo that Antwerp has produced more good artiſts in this way, than any other town in the Netherlands. Antwerp has likewiſe been famous for printing, the Plantin editions being much eſteemed in the learned world. Plantin's printing-houſe remains (though imperfect) at this time, and is ſaid by the Antwerpers to be the beſt in Europe, having been ſupplied with near an hundred different ſorts of fonts of letters, two of which were Syriac, forty-ſeven Roman, nine Greek, and ten Hebrew.

But Antwerp, though ſo much reduced from its antient ſplendor, is yet a place of conſequence: here is ſome trade carried on, for which it is yet well ſituated, and has behind it numerous cities in Flanders, &c.

to

to ſupply with foreign commodities: they have alſo ſeveral flouriſhing manufactures, a conſiderable lace trade, and a ſhare of the linen fabrics, &c. It is alſo an agreeable place to reſide in, from the number of nobility and people of large fortune who live in it. Through their patronage a theatre has been rebuilt, and alſo an apartment for the performance of concerts. The firſt is a very beautiful and well contrived edifice, well furniſhed with ſcenery and machines; it is alſo richly ornamented with paintings by D'heur and Michael Vervoort the younger. A company of French comedians exhibit here three times a week in winter. The ſame maſters ornamented the concert-room, where a concert is performed once a week, for two months, in winter.

From my firſt coming to Antwerp I was made to expect much entertainment in ſeveral of the churches; and I ſhould have been better ſatisfied, had not my expectation been raiſed too much: however, there are numerous pictures in them of moſt capital merit, and they are indeed the richeſt that Antwerp has to beſtow on ſtrangers.

In the church of the Dominican nuns is an altar-piece repreſenting a crucifixion; a large picture by Vandyke. It is a capital performance

performance of that very capital painter, and an inſtance of that remarkable chaſtity of colouring in which he was ſo excellent.

In the church of the nuns of the Annunciation is a ſmall altar-piece by Rubens, repreſenting the holy child Jeſus: there is merit in it, but not equal to what is often ſeen in the works of this maſter. Here is alſo a portrait of the founder of the Cloiſter, by Vandyke, which deſerves much admiration.

In the church of the Beguines is an altar-piece repreſenting the deſcent from the croſs, by Vandyke, which is extremely capital; the ideas are great, and the colouring pure. Near it are two figures, finely executed in white marble, by Scheemaeckers.

The reſurrection, the annunciation of the Virgin, and the aſcenſion, all by Langen Jan, done in Vandyke's manner, and equal to many of the pieces of that celebrated painter.

St. Francis, by Guido, but not comparable to the beſt works of that maſter. A crucifixion, by Jordaens, which has merit.

In the church of St. James, an elevation of the croſs, by Vervoort the elder, deſerves to be mentioned.

Another

Another piece of the laſt ſupper, by Otton Van Veen, is finely done. Alſo the ſtatues of St. Paul and St. Peter, executed by Williamſens and Verbruggen, which will call for attention from every one that ſees them.

An altar-piece, by Gerard Zegers.

A baſs relief, by Schoemaeckers, excellently done. Among the chapels in this church, thoſe of Zumalos, Candoles, and Rubens, are highly adorned. In the latter is an altar-piece, painted by himſelf, in which is his own portrait under the figure of St. George. Alſo the portrait of his firſt and ſecond wives, executed better than in moſt of the numerous pieces in which he introduced them. Over one of them is a ſtatue of a virgin in white marble, brought by Rubens from Italy; it is an exquiſite piece, but the ſculptor unknown.

Our Lady, with an accompaniment of ſaints, by Jordaens.

A ſtatue of the Virgin, with two cherubs weeping, by Van Beveren, finely executed.

Two others of St. John and St. Paul, by Michael Vervoort; theſe have great merit.

In the Peteer's monument, a picture of eternity, by Vervoort; a ſtrange idea, but diſplays the hand of a maſter.

The

The cathedral of Antwerp is a vaſt building, and full of ornaments of painting, ſtatuary, and rich carving. Among other objects, which attracted my notice particularly, are the following:

In the Grand Almoner's apartment, the portrait of a burgomaſter, by Vandyke, an excellent piece.

Two ladies, and a butcher with a broken head, finely executed, by Cocberger. St. Paul, a tinker, and a monkey, might be clapt together with as much propriety: but the painters of the Flemiſh ſchool, Rubens and Vandyke, with a very few others excepted, are utterly deſtitute of a chain of great ideas, ever thrown into one piece; you look in vain to their works for an action complex in its nature, but rendered one by the genius of the artiſt: good colouring, and a maſterly imitation of ſtill life, are their great excellencies; minute finiſhing is carried by them to the higheſt perfection.

The miracle of the loaves and fiſhes, by Martin de Vos, is a ſtriking piece.

Children turning a wine-preſs, a baſs relief, by Quillin, admirably performed.

The fall of the rebellious angels, by Francis Floris.

The laſt ſupper, by Otton Van Veen.

The

The taking down from the croſs, by Rubens; one of the fineſt pieces I have ſeen by this maſter; it is a very large picture, with many figures, and all executed in the higheſt ſtile of this painter: it has two great folding doors before it, on one of which is repreſented the viſitation, and on the other the purification of the Virgin. On the inſide of one of them is painted St. Chriſtopher carrying Jeſus acroſs a river; and on the inſide of the other, a hermit with his eyes fixed on that Saint. The whole executed by Rubens, and have ſo much of that famous maſter's beſt manner in them, that they cannot fail of being highly admired by all lovers of painting. This performance was copied in 1704, by Opſtal, a Dutch artiſt, for Marſhal de Villeroy.

The marriage of the Virgin with Joſeph, by Van Eyck.

A very fine landſcape, by Momper.

A nativity, by Martin de Vos.

The reſurrection, by Rubens, not in his beſt manner. There are two folding doors before it, painted by the ſame artiſt; St. John on one, and St. Barbe on the other, and an angel on the inſide of each, all by the ſame hand.

The

The day of judgment, by De Backer. There is much accuracy in the deſign of this picture.

An altar-piece, repreſenting our Saviour in the midſt of the Doctors, by Francis Francken the elder. The faces of moſt of the Doctors are portraits of many of the principal reformers, ſuch as Luther, Calvin, &c. &c. On one of the folding doors is St. Ambroſe baptizing St. Auguſtine; on the other, the miracle of Eliſha; both by the ſame artiſt.

A holy family, with two figures in a poſture of adoration, finely executed by Rubens.

The martyrdom of St. Criſpin and Criſpianus, by Ambroſe Francken; it is a good picture, notwithſtanding many faults.

The marriage at Cana, by Martin de Vos. The land of promiſe, by ditto.

The incredulous Thomas a Didymus, by Martin de Vos. One of the folding doors repreſents the baptiſm of our Lord; and the other, the decollation of St. John. Theſe pieces have a very ſuperior merit.

The painters drawing the Virgin, by Martin de Vos. Not a bad piece, but inferior to that laſt mentioned.

St. John preaching in the wilderneſs, by Henry Van Balen. The picture has merit, but the figure of St. John is totally wanting in dignity.

The temptation of St. Anthony. One of the folding doors repreſents St. Hubert; and the other, St. Rock. All by Martin de Vos, and equal to any thing I have ſeen of that artiſt's performance.

Chriſt's triumphant entry into Jeruſalem. On one folding door the baptiſm of St. Conſtantine; on the other, the church of St. Peter at Rome; on one ſide St. George on horſeback, on the other St. Margaret and a dragon; with three other ſmall pieces, all by Martin de Vos.

The deſcent from the croſs. On one of the folding doors, St. John thrown into a caldron of oil; on the other, Herodias dancing, in order to procure the head of St. John, by Quintin Matſis, the famous blackſmith painter of Antwerp. In the troubleſome times of the city this piece was ſold, but the magiſtrates of the city afterwards redeemed it by the advice of Martin de Vos, for the ſum of fifteen hundred florins. There is great force of imitation in it in that painter's well-known ſtile, with a minute expreſſion; but Herodias is void of all grace and

and elegance: indeed the difficulty of catching the grace of motion, which ſcarcely gives an attitude, is ſome excuſe for the execution, though none for the attempt: the great Italian maſters underſtood their art too well to attempt it, for I do not recollect an inſtance of their giving the repreſentation of a perſon dancing.

The Virgin accompanied by angels, by Cornelius Schut; excellently done in this ſtile of painting.

St. Anne, by Michael Coxie. The conductor tells you that this piece always was much eſteemed by Rubens.

The nativity, by Francis Floris. One of his laſt pieces.

A dead Chriſt leaning on the boſom of his mother. On one of the folding doors is painted the Virgin with an infant Jeſus; and on the other, St. John the Evangeliſt. On the inſide of the ſame doors are painted our Lord, and the Virgin his mother; the whole by Rubens, but not in his fineſt manner.

There is nothing ſtriking in the monument of Quintin Matſis, but it is always ſhewn to ſtrangers for the ſingularity of his hiſtory. The iron work of the pump near the monument, which is very curious, was

wrought by him, and only with a hammer: he executed many ſuch works, and it is obſervable, that he never made uſe of a file in the poliſhing any piece of any iron work whatſoever.

This cathedral is upon the whole very nobly ornamented, and its architecture in the Gothic ſtile is not inferior to any edifice in all the Low Countries. It is five hundred feet long, and two hundred and forty feet broad. The height is three hundred and ſixty feet, and it is ſupported by one hundred and twenty-five large pillars. It was erected in the thirteenth century. The firſt ſtone of the choir was laid by the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1521. In the year 1533, all was reduced to aſhes by fire, except the choir and the tower. The next year it was rebuilt in a ſuperior ſtile. The tower is a fine building, light and ſtriking. The height is four hundred and ſixty-ſix feet high; it was begun in 1422, and not completely finiſhed till 1518. Strangers are conducted up to the height of four hundred feet, by a ſtair-caſe of ſix hundred and twenty-two ſteps. Nothing can well be finer than the view exhibited from the top of this fine ſteeple, not only of a vaſt tract of country for many miles round, but of ſeveral very

very conſiderable cities; ſuch as Malines, Bruſſels, Louvaine, Liere, Ghent, &c. There is a muſical clock which plays chimes every hour, half hour, quarter, and half quarter, conſiſting of near eighty bells. The largeſt bell weighs ſixteen thouſand pounds, and was erected in the year 1440.

In the church of the Capuchins, among other pictures, are a crucifixion, by Rubens, which is fine.

St. Francis, by the ſame maſter.

A dead Chriſt, greatly done, by Vandyke.

A deſcent from the croſs, by Cocberger.

In the church of the Recollects I obſerved particularly a crucifixion, by Rubens, very well done, with a brilliancy not always found in the productions of his pencil.

A crucifix, by the ſame maſter; very fine.

Chriſt ſhewing his wounds, and the portraits of burgomaſter Rock and his wife, by Rubens; a piece that does honour to the genius of this great painter.

A Virgin, with an infant Jeſus on her lap, by Holbein; very fine.

A ſmall crucifix, by Rubens.

A deſcent from the croſs, by ditto.

A St. Catharine, by Vandyke.

St. Francis, by Rubens. There are many figures very nobly executed.

A large deſcent from the croſs, by Vandyke; one of the fineſt works I remember to have ſeen by that great painter.

A portrait of Alexander Scaglia, by Vandyke. It is fine, and large as the life.

The Virgin in her glory, by Rubens.

We alſo find in the church of the Dominicans, ſeveral very fine pieces. Among others, a Chriſt threatening to puniſh the world, by Rubens; which is fine.

The altar-piece, executed in marble, by Verbruggen, is ſtriking. The ſtatue of St. Paul, remarkably beautiful.

The Virgin diſtributing the roſary to the world, by Michael Angelo Caravaggio.

Near it a ſtatue of St. Roſa in white marble, by Quillin.

A large picture of the nativity, by Rubens.

St. Dominic, by Michael Angelo Buonorotti.

Chriſt bearing the croſs, by Vandyke.

A council, by Rubens; this piece is incomparably fine.

Jeſus ſcourged, by Rubens; admirably executed.

The Jeſuit's church is one of the moſt beautiful edifices to be ſeen in all Flanders; the architecture has uncommon merit; the workmanſhip is very maſterly, and it is full of

of fine paintings; the fineſt marble, intermixed with jaſper, porphyry, and gold; nor can any thing be more magnificent than the chapel adjoining. Among other paintings, the following are particularly admired:

The aſſumption of the Virgin, by Rubens; finely done.

The holy family, by John Lievens. This piece has merit.

Chriſt's appearance after his reſurection, and St. John and the Virgin, both by Gerard Zeghers.

The circumciſion, by Cornelius Schut.

A holy family, by Zeghers.

Angels, by Rubens; finely executed.

A holy family, by Rubens. The deſign excellent.

St. Ignatius exorciſing a perſon poſſeſſed, by Rubens. The deſign and execution of this picture are equally to be admired.

St. Xavier raiſing a man from the dead. This is alſo by Rubens, and much admired.

The erection of the croſs, by Zeghers. Boldly done in dark maſſes of ſhade.

A holy family, by Carrache.

Four large ſtatues of St. Ignatius, St. Francis, St. Xavier, and St. Staniſlaus, all by Quillin. There is merit in the execution,

but not equal to the other works of this artiſt.

St. Xavier on his knees before the Virgin, by Zeghers.

In the library is ſeen a portrait of Rubens, drawn in pen and ink by himſelf, and executed in the moſt inimitable manner; with a minute expreſſion ſo mixed with freedom, that it is beyond the power of the graver to equal it.

A holy family, with many figures, by Vandyke. A very fine picture.

The portrait of St. Herman Joſeph, by the ſame hand, and moſt admirably executed.

This apartment is ornamented with twenty-ſeven cieling-pieces, ſome of which are very well executed; they are by various maſters.

The little head of an angel in marble, executed by Quillin, is much admired, and with juſtice.

The annunciation of the Virgin, by Rubens.

A crucifixion, by Zeghers.

In the church of the bare-footed Carmelites, the marriage of St. Joſeph with the Virgin, by Zeghers, is one of the fineſt pieces I have ſeen of that maſter.

A deſcent

A deſcent from the croſs, by Rubens.

The Virgin with St. Anne, &c. by ditto; which is very fine.

Chriſt appearing to St. Thereſa, by the ſame hand. This piece, they ſay, is much admired, but I muſt own it does not ſtrike me.

St. Thereſa, by Zeghers.

In the church of the Grand Carmelites, among other pieces, are,

The Virgin and St. Catharine, by Willebrots, has very great merit.

A portrait, by Vandyke.

A dead Chriſt, by Rubens.

The adoration of the Magi, by Otton Van Veen.

The chapel of the Virgin is remarkably beautiful; it is entirely compoſed of white marble, deſigned and executed by Scheemaeckers; it is ſurrounded with baſs reliefs. The altar is all of marble, with various decorations of ſilver, with a ſtatue of the Virgin in that metal. The door of the chapel is very neatly executed, and over it are three bronzes of very fine workmanſhip.

Chriſt's interment, by Abraham Janſſens.

In the church of the Friars of St. Auguſtin are,

A holy

A holy family, a very large picture, by Rubens, with many figures; it is one of his fineſt pieces.

St. Auguſtin in a tranſport of devotion, by Vandyke. He is lifting up his eyes to heaven, where he is ſuppoſed to ſee Jeſus Chriſt. This their catalogue tells you is the very beſt performance of that great painter: it certainly has a wonderful merit; there is a ſtrength and majeſty of expreſſion, with an elegance and freedom of deſign, that is ſeldom ſeen; the colours are chaſte and agreeable, and, in a word, the whole piece ſtrikingly fine.

The martyrdom of St. Apollonius, by Jordaens. Very ſtrongly executed.

A crucifix, by Vandyke; admirably fine. Upon painting the above-mentioned capital picture of St. Auguſtin he demanded ſix hundred florins as his price; but the monks diſputing with him, he inſiſted on his terms, but let them have this crucifix very cheap. They could now be ſold for thirteen thouſand guineas. Such is the fate of the moſt ingegenious part of mankind! they can ſcarcely live by the ſale of their productions, but long after they are dead and buried, the world begins to find out their merit, and values

ſingle

ſingle efforts of their genius at ten times more than their whole fortune.

In the church of St. Michael's abbey, the altar-piece, repreſenting the adoration of the Magi, is by Rubens, and exceedingly fine.

The portrait of an abbot, by the ſame maſter.

St. Norbert, by Rubens.

St. Norbert, by Cornelius de Vos. It is done in Vandyke's manner, but not equal to the beſt of his pieces, as the catalogue of the monks tell you.

The hiſtory of the ſick man in the goſpel, by Eraſmus Quillin. What the fathers mean by aſſerting in their catalogue, that this picture is not inferior to any performance of Paul Veroneſe, I cannot conceive; for I have ſeen many works of that maſter infinitely ſuperior.

In the Fort church, nothing is more worthy of attention than the monument of the Marquis del Pico, one of the governors of the citadel. He is repreſented as ſuddenly ſtarting from ſleep, and in amazement at the ſight of two ſkeletons ſtanding before him. Over his head two cherubs weep, one holding a ſhield, and the other a helmet. Between them ſtands Fame, with the arms of the Marquis in one hand, and her trumpet

pet in the other; the whole decorated with a great number of military inſignia. It is the work of Scheemaeckers, and is, I think, one of his beſt performances. In the year 1746, at the ſiege, a bomb damaged it conſiderably, but it is ſince repaired very well. The altar, by the ſame artiſt, is alſo a moſt magnificent piece of ſculpture.

In the church of St. Andrew, among other pieces, are,

A guardian angel, by Quillin.

The laſt ſupper, by Eyckens the elder.

Chriſt faſtened to the croſs, by Vandyke; inferior to his beſt manner.

In the church of St. George:

A portrait of Velours, by Vandyke.

A laſt ſupper, by Martin de Vos.

The monument of the Van Delfts, by Scheemaeckers, is a fine piece of ſculpture.

A portrait of Smellinck, a painter, by Vandyke.

In the church of St. Walburge:

A crucifixion, by Rubens. This picture has very great merit, it is executed with great force and ſpirit.

St. Eloy, and St. Catharine, with two others, all belonging to the above crucifixion, by Rubens.

The

The Lord's ſupper, by Martin de Vos. This is well executed.

I may upon the whole remark, that theſe churches at Antwerp afford the curious traveller infinitely more entertainment, than thoſe of any three other cities in all the Netherlands. It is for this reaſon that I have been ſo particular in my notes; they are very little known in England, not having been viſited by the travellers who have publiſhed their remarks: and the only account I have ſeen of them, is a little catalogue ſold at the inns at Antwerp, and by the bookſellers there, written in French; but this is no more than a catalogue, the author having ſeldom ventured to make any remarks, and thoſe that have eſcaped him are not always juſt.

July 27th, I left Antwerp, and enquiring the beſt way of getting to Cologne in Germany, which was the rout I intended taking, I found the road ran thro' a country in general ſandy and waſte: the diſtance to Ruremond, the firſt place of any conſideration, is eighty three miles; that I ſhould meet with no town by the way better than a large village; Tournhout, Poſtel, and Wert, were the only ones I ſhould ſee. I agreed with my landlord at Antwerp for a chaiſe and ſaddle-

horſe

horſe to Ruremond, and he engaged that I ſhould perform it in two days. I was to pay at the rate of ſix and twenty ſhillings Engliſh a day, which I did not think high, as the diſtance was conſiderable.

I found the road bad, and the country very dreary: ſo many miles of it was a deep ſand, that I doubted very much whether my Antwerp landlord had given horſes ſufficiently good for anſwering his engagement, and my ſuſpicions proved true: from that city to Tournhout is twenty miles, which took us eight hours; I made but a ſhort ſtay at a very bad inn, and puſhed on for Poſtel, which is twenty miles further. This place, however, we could not reach that night, but were forced to take up our lodging at a miſerable cabaret on the road, where I ſlept in a great chair, wrapped up in a Huſſar cloak. It was eleven o'clock next day before I got to Poſtel: the country is all but indifferent; ſome of it is cultivated, but not by many degrees ſo well as the other parts of Flanders. The country people were buſy in their harveſt, and I obſerved were ſuch ſlovens as to carry in their wheat crops looſe, like barley and oats, and not bound up in ſheaves: the crops of all ſorts appeared but indifferent. Much of the ſoil I paſſed, would do as well for flax,

flax, &c. as any in the beſt part of Flanders, but they cultivate none: much of this, I ſuppoſe, is owing to a want of that populouſneſs, for the thick towns near the coaſt bring a market for ſuch productions, and indeed for all others, which theſe waſte tracts do not enjoy: and it is moſt certainly of the higheſt importance to the agriculture of any tract, that a market for every thing ſhould be ready and good. The manufactures in Bruſſels, Ghent, Antwerp, Mechlin, Louvaine, &c. enrich all the country around, and induce the farmers to cultivate flax on ſoils, which would not otherwiſe probably be cultivated at all.

From Poſtel I went to Wert, a little place, but much ſuperior to the former. The inn is kept by a clean Dutch woman, who gave me ſome greens, a fowl, and a diſh of eggs, ſo that I fared, all things conſidered, very decently: here I diſcharged my chaiſe and horſes, finding, upon enquiry, that I could get poſt-horſes to Ruremond for myſelf and ſervant, and a conveyance the next day for the baggage. This ſaved my time, and enabled me to reach that town at night.

Ruremond is ſituated on the Maeſe, at its junction with the Roer, from whence it takes its name. It is a large and populous town, and

and rich, from carrying on an advantageous commerce on the rivers. The fortifications are pretty ſtrong, and might be much more ſo, with the addition of a few out-works. There is a very rich monaſtery of Carthuſians here, but they have not any thing much worthy of notice to ſhew, except a chapel richly adorned.

And here, as I take my leave of the provinces, which commonly go under the name of Flanders, it will be proper to give a few general remarks, which I made in paſſing through the country.

The moſt ſtriking object, which muſt ſtrongly catch the attention of a traveller, is the number, greatneſs, and populouſneſs of the cities and towns, and the beauty of many of the public buildings. Theſe towns abound with trade, manufactures, induſtry, amuſement, and pleaſure; and although ſome of them are vaſtly declined from that pitch of proſperity in which they once figured, yet they at preſent form, upon the whole, a richer and more conſiderable country for its ſize, than any in Europe, the province of Holland alone excepted; and this degree of preſent importance is a remarkable inſtance of a country retaining its conſideration, after it has loſt the principal part of its commerce;

commerce; this can be owing only to two circumſtances, which are the happineſs of its ſituation, and the great fertility of its ſoil.

Some writers have remarked, that the beſt huſbandry is uſually found in the moſt barren and ſterile ſpots, and have quoted Switzerland, where agriculture flouriſhes remarkably; but Flanders is a ſtrong exception to this rule, which, it muſt be confeſſed, has much of philoſophy in it; for this country is cultivated in a degree of perfection not to be found any where elſe, at the ſame time that the ſoil is eſteemed the richeſt and moſt fertile in Europe. They have the principal eſſentials of good huſbandry in their practice, keeping the land perfectly free from weeds, and at the ſame time cropping it perpetually, ſo that they hardly know what a fallow is.

Another obſervation I have to make is, that agriculture has here maintained its empire for many ages; for we learn from hiſtory, that theſe provinces were cultivated in a manner much ſuperior to the reſt of Europe, ſo early as their being firſt conſiderable for their woollen manufactures, which is between ſix and ſeven hundred years ago, ever ſince the Flander huſbandry has been proverbial, and it is now as famous as when

the reſt of Europe was almoſt covered with marſhes and ſandy deſarts: this great excellency of their management has ſtood all the attacks of the violent civil wars in the reign of Philip the Second, it being the common theatre of moſt of the wars in Europe, from the Duke of Parma's time, in 1580, &c. to 1748, which is one of the moſt remarkable inſtances of the ſtability of good huſbandry that is to be met with in the annals of hiſtory. Their trade and manufactures both fled, but the induſtry of their peaſants never failed.

The ſituation of theſe provinces renders them, in the views of ambition, a very important object in the politics of Europe. There is no other ſpot of ground of the ſame ſize that is of equal conſequence; a truth amazingly exemplified by the variety of ſucceſſive conteſts and wars, which have for more than two hundred years engaged all the neighbouring potentates to get poſſeſſion of them. Had Philip the Second of Spain avoided the long wars with the Dutch, which quite waſted his ſtrength, the entire poſſeſſion of this territory, more complete than ever it has been to any Sovereign ſince, would have enabled him to become much more formidable to the reſt of Europe. It was from

Flanders

Flanders that he principally exerted his great ſtrength, as if from the ſeat of his empire. Not only the war with Holland took its direction from thence, but alſo his expeditions into France; and a principal part of the invincible Armada, indeed the moſt important of it, was the Duke of Parma's army in Flanders. When Lewis XIV. became the principal actor upon the theatre of Europe, he made great exertions to conquer the Netherlands; he gained conſiderable provinces, and had he been able to maſter the whole, there can be little doubt but his power would have been ſo ſolidly founded, that the oppoſition of the reſt of Europe would have been of but little conſequence. Holland would have been left utterly at his mercy, and become at once dependant on his will; England would have had a whole coaſt of Dunkirks extending to the very mouth of the Thames; and neither ſhe, nor any other power, would have been able to have made a tract of country, the theatre of war againſt the common enemy, that was equally open to her and Germany for uniting their arms; a point of ſuch importance that nothing could make amends for the want of it. In whatever light the acquiſition of theſe provinces is viewed with relation to France,

while her power was on the increaſe, there can be no doubt but they would have rendered her too ſtrong for all her neighbours. The gaining a dominion ſo full of people, trade, manufactures, induſtry, and cultivation, thronged with cities and towns, cut in every part by navigable canals, commanding a good extent of coaſt; this alone would have been an object of very great conſequence; but when the peculiar circumſtances of ſtrength and ſituation are added, the caſe becomes too clear for heſitation.

As the neighbours of France were fortunate enough to preſerve the principal part of the provinces from the rapaciouſneſs of her ambition, they therein ſecured the liberties of Europe; and luckily there is no other riſing power, whoſe greatneſs gives reaſon to fear her aiming at univerſal monarchy: the poſſeſſion of them in the Houſe of Auſtria can give umbrage to no part of Europe, unleſs ſo ſtrict an alliance was formed between her and France, as to force the Dutch into a war; and in ſuch a caſe Holland might be in danger. That republic would for ever be ſecure in her independency, whatever ills befell her trade, if theſe provinces were added to her dominion by a union as complete as that which binds the

Seven.

Seven. She would then, in all probability, have never any thing to dread from the power of France.

On the other hand, there might be a dominion formed by an union of the Auſtrian Netherlands with the biſhoprics of Liege, Cologne, &c. and ſome other German territories, which, in many exigencies of the affairs of Europe, might tend ſtrongly to preſerve peace, by holding a balance between the three powers that are moſt likely to break it, France, Auſtria, and Pruſſia.

At any rate, theſe provinces are of ſuch importance, that the neighbouring powers of Europe ſhould at all events make it a ſtanding rule in their politics, not to ſuffer them, on any account, to fall into the hands of France. That kingdom, it is true, is a ſinking power, but no body knows what conſequences might attend, what renovation might follow ſuch an acquiſition; certainly Holland, and all her trade, would be in the moſt imminent danger; and if a Prince of real abilities mounted the throne of France, fully bent upon reſtoring the luſtre of that monarchy; if he became an encourager of trade, of manufactures, agriculture, and all the uſeful arts, he would, with theſe provinces in his hands, carry his people to ſuch

a height of power, that any ſucceſſor of moderate parts would find none able to oppoſe him in ſeizing Holland, and ſecuring the poſſeſſion of it. Of ſuch vaſt importance are theſe Provinces!

Travels through Germany.

CHAP. III.

From Ruremond to Cologne—Deſcription of that City—To Munſter—The Country—Huſbandry—Adventures—Biſhopric of Oſnaburgh—Minden—War in Germany—Hanover—Preſent State of the Electorate—Agriculture—Manufactures—Revenues—To Hamburgh—Deſcription of that City—State of its Trade, &c.

FROM Ruremond to Cologne the road leads firſt to Juliers, at the diſtance of eighteen miles: it is through a very indifferent country, being much of it waſte, and a great deal a poor ſand. Some of this poor ſoil is however cultivated, for they were mowing ſeveral fields of buck wheat I paſſed, which ſeemed to be pretty good crops. I ordered my ſervant to make ſome enquiries into the advantages of applying theſe ſands to the culture of it; and he was told, that they were too poor to produce any thing elſe, but of this grain their crops were ſometimes conſiderable. Their method was to take a crop

crop of buck wheat, and then leave the land fallow for a year, but without giving it any tillage: the year following, they take another crop on one ploughing, and ſo on, but I could not underſtand that they paid any rent for this land; it ſeemed waſte, and no body prevented the peaſants from taking what crops they pleaſed from it. They applied the buck wheat to feeding hogs and horſes, and gave the ſtraw to their cows. But all theſe ſands, I apprehend, might be much improved by ſpreading their yellow clays upon them, of which I ſaw, in broken places on the road, many ſpots.

The town of Juliers is not large, but it is neatly built, and contains ſeveral good ſtreets, which are broad and ſtrait. The place is well fortified, having a very ſtrong citadel, in which are the ruins of an antient palace, once the reſidence of the Dukes of Juliers. They have a rich monaſtery of Carthuſians in the ſuburbs. At Juliers, and ſeveral other places in the Duchy, there is a very advantageous manufacture of woollen goods, and a ſtill more conſiderable one of thoſe linens, called in England Gulic Hollands; theſe manufactures ſpread ſomething of an induſtry through the country, and nrich it much more than it would otherwiſe be.

From

From Juliers to Cologne is twelve miles, through a country rather better than that to Juliers: towards the Rhine it improves greatly, and is well ſpread with fine meadows, and other rich tracks. I arrived at Cologne the 30th, at night, fixing my quarters at the City of Amſterdam inn.

Cologne is a very large and well built city, in the form of a creſcent, ſituated in a fine plain on the banks of the Rhine. There is ſome appearance of fortifications about it, but it is a place of no ſtrength, from its great extent; the walls incloſing much ground, that is not built upon, and many gardens and vineyards of more than three hundred acres. There are four and twenty gates, and a vaſt number of public buildings; they reckon twenty-ſeven churches, thirty chapels, twelve monaſteries, twenty-two nunneries, and four large hoſpitals. Theſe public edifices are ſo numerous in proportion to the city, that moſt of it is taken up with them. Among the beſt houſes in the town are thoſe belonging to the Chapter, moſt of which have handſome gardens and vineyards. The ſtreets are large and well paved, but there are only two ſquares or market-places. The cathedral is a large building, but unfiniſhed, though begun

begun ſo long ago as 1254; there is nothing ſtriking in it. The Jeſuit's church is an handſome building: I went to ſee two monaſteries, and the chapel of a nunnery, which I was told were beſt worth viewing; but I found ſo little entertainment that I deſiſted from enquiring after any more.

I propoſed croſſing Weſtphalia in my way to Hamburgh, which is a journey of near two hundred miles, but I had ſuch a deſcription of the roads, and the miſerableneſs of the inns and accommodations, that I determined to purchaſe a chaiſe at Cologne, and ſo to depend on the road for nothing but horſes and drivers. It was with much trouble that I found one that had the conveniency of carrying plenty of baggage; at leaſt I bought one with a large boot before, and a ſtill more ample one behind: I purchaſed likewiſe ſome ſheets, a mattraſs, and pillows, with a very large coverlid that would go all over the bedding when made.

Auguſt the 1ſt, I ſent my chaiſe acroſs the Rhine, on its way to Duſſeldorp, determining myſelf to go by the river, as much the more agreeable way. I took my paſſage in a large boat which plies upon the Rhine; the voyage is extremely agreeable, for wherever the banks are high, which is the caſe in many

many places, they are generally planted with vines, which has a mighty pretty effect, and the woods, intermixed with corn fields, have a fine appearance. It was a good day's journey to reach Duſſeldorp. That town is a pretty place from the neatneſs of the buildings, and being well paved. The fortifications are of no great account; but there is a well built citadel which commands the Rhine. The Jeſuit's college is a handſome edifice. In the palace is the gallery, which was once filled with the famous collection of paintings; I was greatly concerned to find that they were removed, as I expected much pleaſure from ſeeing them.

Having entertained myſelf with walking about the place, I again took boat the ſecond for Duyſburgh, and which I did not reach till late in the afternoon; the voyage was extremely pleaſant, the views pictureſque, and the country in general very fine and rich; the cattle they feed in the meadows on the Rhine are the large Dutch ſort, and they ſeem to have a great plenty of them. Some of theſe meadows are lett at very high prices, but moſt of them are farmed by the owners by means of ſtewards and bailiffs. Duyſburgh is but a poor inſignificant place, with nothing

nothing worthy of attention. I walked to ſee an old caſtle near it, but it is in ruins.

From Duyſburgh to Munſter the diſtance is about ſixty-eight miles; and I found by the enquiries I made, that the principal part of it was over barren heaths and waſtes; that there were ſcarcely any towns, unleſs I turned much out of my way, and but a few villages, with wretched accommodations: however, as I had an inclination to croſs Weſtphalia, I determined to encounter this dreary journey. I ſet out in my chaiſe the 3d of Auguſt, having loaded it with ſome loaves, cold fowls, ham, beef, and half a dozen bottles of good wine. This precaution they aſſured me at Duyſburgh was very neceſſary, for a ſlice of bacon, and a piece of black barley bread, was the moſt I could expect at any of the hedge ale-houſes I ſhould meet with.

For ſome miles from Duyſburgh the country is tolerably fertile and pleaſant; but as you advance northwards it grows worſe, and the ſoil poorer: about twenty miles diſtance I paſſed through a territory, where the huſbandry ſurprized me from being ſo much better than in the country I had paſſed; the ſoil is ſandy and not rich, but the inhabitants cultivate it with ſome degree of attention;

tion; the fields are incloſed regularly with neat and ſtrong hedges of horn beam, and appear to be pretty well cultivated; I obſerved ſeveral entirely cropped with potatoes; this root they plant with great ſucceſs on ſandy grounds, and uſe it for fattening their hogs. I made many enquiries among the peaſants, concerning their methods of managing their hogs, from knowing the excellence of their hams and bacon; and I found, that their principal food was what they got wild in the woods, where many cheſnuts grow, and to which, I ſuppoſe, the fleſh is indebted for its fine flavour.

I ſtopped at night at a houſe here called an inn, but which was in reality a ſmall farm houſe, ſtanding ſingly in the fields, with only a few ſcattered incloſures about it. I arrived at this manſion in the afternoon about five o'clock, and immediately took a ſurvey of the premiſes: what I had taken for a houſe, I found to be no more than a large barn, which ſerved for parlour, kitchen, bed-chamber, ſtable, cow-houſe, and hog-ſtye: a man very readily came out, and unharneſſing the horſes, conducted them to a rack and manger; but as to myſelf, no body took the leaſt notice of me: I ordered my ſervant to find out ſome detached building

ing or room to make my bed in, and, if it was to be had, another to eat in; he went to the landlord of the inn, who was buſy in the field, and preſently came back to let me know, that I muſt do as other travellers did at his inn, or I might, if I pleaſed, go ſeek a better: this anſwer let me fully into our landlord's character, and convinced me that I muſt make a virtue of neceſſity, and ſubmit to do as other travellers did. I found, however, that my requeſt had been an unreaſonable one, for the barn was the only apartment in the poſſeſſion of the family.

We then fixed upon a part of it the leaſt offenſive from unſavoury ſmells, and ſpreading a napkin upon the ground, began to devour a part of the proviſions I had brought from Duyſburgh; one table, which was the ground, ſerved both maſter and man, and that ſerved us alſo for chairs, for no others were to be found at this Weſtphalian inn: a hearty repaſt, after almoſt a day's hunger, had its charms, though taken in ſo homely a manner: we diſpatched a couple of fowls, a piece of beef, and ſome ſlices of ham, and were emptying a bottle of Rheniſh when the landlord came up, and with an appearance of ſome civility, addreſſing himſelf to me, ſaid,

ſaid, as I underſtood by my ſervant, who was my interpreter:

Much good may do you, Sir; you have taken care to lay in good ſtore for your journey.

Why, yes; it ſeems to be rather neceſſary in this country.

Odds my life, Sir, we have ſome nice dried tongues, and I could give you a flaggon of as good brandy as any in Munſter.

Thinking it would be proper to lay out ſome money with him for myſelf as well as for my horſes, I deſired he would let me taſte one of his dried tongues, and bring us ſome brandy; and if he would aſſiſt us in diſpatching both, I ſhould be obliged to him. The German took the hint; he brought five ſmall tongues, and a piece of hung beef, all excellent, ſo that I was induced to eat a ſecond courſe; his brandy he drank himſelf, as if it had been but ſmall beer, and he was not long in clearing the table of the tongues. I took this opportunity to enquire into their huſbandry, and aſking him many queſtions; he anſwered me but coldly at firſt, but growing into better humour, as he ſwigg'd the brandy, he was more communicative, and gave me the following accounts: I am not farmer enough myſelf to diſcriminate in his

particulars, but muſt take all on the ſame authority.

The lands throughout theſe parts are in general cultivated by peaſants, who are in a ſtate of villainage; but ſome of them are lett in the manner of our farms in England, and theſe are much better managed than the others; but it is only of late years that this has been done, though from the ſucceſs, and the land yielding the owner a greater profit, it is ſuppoſed that a greater freedom will be diffuſed among the peaſants. The ſoil is in general ſandy, but it is not a barren ſand, for few tracts are ſo bad but what will yield ſome advantages when managed with any care. The plants they cultivate principally are rye, oats, buck wheat, a little barley, potatoes, ſome turnips, and, of late years, a plant between a turnip and a cabbage; but they have no wheat: they depend much on their cattle for the profit of their huſbandry: their meadows, except on the banks of brooks and rivers, are very indifferent; but they feed their flocks on waſtes, having herdſmen to take care of them; they generally houſe them every night: the barn, in which the family and cattle reſide, is large enough to hold all the ſtock. They have very few horſes among them, all their work being

being performed by oxen or cows, for they find no inconvenience in working the latter. They are troubled very much in winter to find proviſions for their cattle; their ſtraw is all eaten, and they feed them alſo with the tender branches of ſeveral ſorts of trees; their turnip leaves and cabbage leaves they pluck ſeveral times, and boil them in a large copper until the liquor is a kind of hodge-podge, and this they give their oxen and cows warm, and find that this method of giving it makes the materials go much farther; they alſo think it highly neceſſary to give cows ſome warm food every day in winter; their potatoes they uſe chiefly for their hogs. I made enquiries concerning the fattening them, and found that they are made fat chiefly by running in the woods, where they find plenty of cheſnuts; but in tracts where theſe woods are not within a farmer's right they procure cheſnuts, and give them in ſties: in the laſt ſtage of their fattening, which is after their range abroad in the woods is over, they give them potatoes baked. I expreſſed much ſurprize at this intelligence, but it was repeated ſeveral times, and very ſeriouſly. They have large ovens for baking potatoes; and they find, that thus prepared, they are the moſt fattening of all food, and that the

flavour of their bacon is owing not to the cheſnuts, but to the baked potatoes; what truth, or rather what propriety, there is in this practice I am totally unable to aſcertain, it is a point that muſt be referred to the connoiſſeurs in hog-fattening; but I much queſtion whether the farmers in England will ever give credit enough to this account to try it in their practice. They think it equally neceſſary to give hogs their food warm in winter as cows.

Buck wheat they think the moſt profitable grain they can ſow on their ſandy lands; they uſe it principally for their own eating, making bread, puddings, and pancakes of it, and with the ſtraw they partly feed their oxen in winter.

I before remarked, that the barn ſerved for every uſe of cattle, as well as the family: they are univerſally attentive to houſe all throughout the winter, and they ſupply them with litter in as great abundance as they are able, either with ſtraw, heath, fern, or other ſtuff; and their dung, as cleaned away, is formed into a great heap near the barn, which they add to by all the family doing their neceſſities upon it, and which they would on no account omit, being very ſenſible

ſible how much they add to the virtues of it.

It was with ſome difficulty that I could find a ſpot in the barn on which I could ſubmit to ſpread my bed: my man raiſed a floor of fern upon the ground, and laid on that a layer of ſtraw, and then my bedding; I had on one ſide of me ſeven oxen ranged to their racks and mangers, the neareſt of whom was within three feet of me, and I was not a little diſturbed with the idea of his breaking or ſlipping his halter, and favouring me with his company in the night, to the diſlocation of all my bones: my neighbour, on the other ſide, was a cow, and near her a large ſow with a litter of pigs, whoſe grunting ſerved inſtead of ſoft muſic to lull me to ſleep. This lodging among the cattle I much preferred to the other end of the barn, where the family, the poſt-boy, and man, and another traveller repoſed themſelves; men and women all together: as I was forced to have company, I choſe thoſe animals which I was ſure were cleaneſt, and would ſend forth the feweſt unſavoury ſmells. Here it was I repoſed myſelf for ſleep, and much ſooner ſacrificed to Morpheus than I expected: in other words, I was preſently faſt and comfortably aſleep,

without dreaming either of cows, oxen, or ſwine; but, as if I was deſtined to have the Weſtphalian barn prove as fertile of adventures as any of Don Quixote's inns, I was in the middle of the night ſuddenly awaked with a great weight dropping at once upon me. I immediately ſuppoſed it was nothing leſs than my friend the ox, and directly belaboured his bones with a large cane: a voice, not leſs ſonorous than that of an ox, roar'd out in High Dutch as if the devil had juſt caught him; the whole barn was preſently in confuſion, oxen and cows bellowing, the ſows grunting, the horſes neighing, the pigs ſqueaking, the women ſqualling, and the landlord curſing; nor was our theatre of diſcord quiet till the caſe was explained by the wounded traveller, who viewing the barn, thought my bed the moſt promiſing part to take his reſt upon.

After this adventure we once more applied to ſleep, which met with no more diſturbance; and by five o'clock in the morning, my chaiſe, &c. being ready, I beat a march from this very delectable inn, purſuing my journey towards Munſter.

The country was for many miles a waſte, wild track, generally a heath, or ſtraggling woods: in one part we travelled, I believe, ten

ten or eleven Engliſh miles without ſeeing a ſingle houſe. About noon I ſtopped to reſt the horſes, and refreſh ourſelves on the banks of a pretty ſtream, which I thought far preferable to taking refuge in another country inn: the place where I dined was not wanting in rural beauties; the river was ſeen winding through a ſmall plain for about a mile; the ſoil tolerable meadow, with ſome verdure; from the flat ground ſome gentle hills roſe in a various manner, whoſe tops were prettily tufted with trees; it was a charming day, which made this little proſpect appear quite enchanting, after the dreary waſte we had juſt paſſed. Here I got a moſt refreſhing dinner, and reſting the horſes an hour and half, ſet forwards again for Munſter, and arrived there late at night, on the 4th. It is a miſerable place, though the capital of the biſhopric. It is large and populous, but a very ugly, ill built, and dirty town.

Here I took freſh horſes, and ſet forward again next morning, after a walk through the city, for Tecklenburgh; the diſtance twenty three miles. The firſt part of this journey is pleaſant enough, for Munſter is ſituated in a large plain, which is the richeſt and beſt cultivated part of the whole

biſhopric; but the latter part of the journey is through a country almoſt waſte, though with ſome cultivated tracks; and the peaſants ſeem to be in a very miſerable ſtate. Tecklenburgh is but a very inſignificant place, without one object worth ſeeing: there is an old caſtle, which they talk of as once a famous fortification, but it is a place of no ſtrength. I met with ſo miſerable an inn here, that I had my own bed made on the floor of my room, and for proviſions fared very badly; but I would not touch my travelling ſtore, as we found it would be wanting the next day, though I had added pretty conſiderably to it at Munſter.

From Tecklenburgh to Oſnaburgh is about twelve miles; the country rather improves. The biſhopric of Oſnaburgh is in general a pretty good ſoil, far better cultivated than moſt part of that of Munſter. Through part of it, before I came to the capital, I remarked that the encloſures were very well made with horn-beam hedges, ſet in quincunx order, and neatly kept; the peaſants ſeemed to have conſiderable herds of cattle, and particularly hogs. The ſituation of Oſnaburgh on the river Oſe is pleaſant, and around it is a very fertile plain. The ſtreets in general are not very handſome

or

or regular, but they have ſome very good buildings. It is famous for its bread and beer, being the beſt in all Weſtphalia; and I allow their beer is tolerable, and their bread middling, but neither of them comparable to what is met with in every county of England. The palace is a melancholy and diſagreeable place, from its being fortified in the caſtle ſtile.

From Oſnaburgh I took the road to Minden; the diſtance is near forty miles, and which took me a day and part of the night to travel: the country is much ſuperior to Munſter, the ſoil fertile, and tolerably cultivated; vaſt fields of corn are ſpread over it to the South, which in ſome places would make a very fine appearance before harveſt, but the ſtubbles pointed them out to me. Throughout moſt of this country the poſſeſſors of the lands are nobles or eccleſiaſtics, who farm them themſelves, under the care of bailiffs; the peaſants are generally in a ſtate of villainage; they find teams for ploughing and carting on their Lord's land, and do him much work beſides; in return for which they are allowed cottages, with ſmall parcels of land, of which they cannot make near the value, from the hard ſervices they are bound to perform. I paſſed ſeveral villages

at the ſame time that the war was tranſferred into the enemy's county; a point of no ſlight importance, and one which is ever the ſureſt means of diſabling any country. Every argument of weight was againſt the German war; none but weak or falſe ones for it. The idea of our conqueſts, in other parts of the world, being made in conſequence of the diverſion in Germany, is fully anſwered by ſuppoſing the ſame diverſion in the provinces of France. There can be no doubt but conqueſts in America, and the Eaſt, from any power, muſt be owing to a degree of their weakneſs in thoſe places; and that weakneſs may be materially owing to a conſuming expenſive diverſion elſewhere. But why did we make it in Germany under every diſadvantage? The diverſion conſiſts in the expenditure of ſix or ſeven millions annually, in the maintainance of a great army; but it matters not the leaſt whether it be on the Rhine, the Rhone, or the Seine, if we look no farther than the mere matter of diverſion; but it is of infinite conſequence that the ſum be expended where it will cauſe the greateſt effects, and that moſt aſſuredly will be in the enemy's country. If it is ſaid, that the ſea is a bad country to retire to in caſe of ill fortune, it may be replied, that it

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was the ſea that the Duke of Cumberland was driven to at Haſtenbeck; and it was the ſea that Duke Ferdinand would have been driven to, had ill ſucceſs attended him, unleſs he had fallen back on the King of Pruſſia, and therein counteracted the only pretended purpoſe of the war. But the argument is falſe, nothing could be better to retire to than ports on the Channel, which would, in caſe of ſuch a war, be moſt certainly ready to receive any part of the army in caſe of need. Cherburgh, Dieppe, Havre, St. Maloes, &c. &c. not one of which could hold out half an hour againſt ſeventy thouſand men; but which would make moſt ſecure quarters for ſeventy thouſand to retreat to, while a victorious fleet rode upon the coaſt. Had the laſt war been carried on upon ſuch principles, we ſhould have found the French in no condition to ſend armies to Germany: a battle of Minden in Normandy, if I may be allowed the Iriciſm, would have proved a little more fatal to the French than in Weſtphalia.

If it is ſaid, that the event of the laſt war was as glorious as could be wiſhed, and that it is invidious to complain of, or regret the conduct of any part of it; I reply, that the German part of it was highly inglorious, and very

in all the country; no caſtle, the reſidence of ſome old Baron; no country ſeat of a private gentleman: in a word, nothing but miſerable villages, or ſcattered cottages, the reſidence of poverty. What a contraſt is this to travelling in England, or even in Holland. In our counties, even in the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, we ſee ſeats of all ranks and degrees thickly ſtrewed over the pariſhes, with a ſtrong appearance of comfortableneſs and eaſe among the gentlemen even of very moderate fortunes; our clergy too are ſpread over the whole kingdom, inſtead of being cooped up in cathedrals, monaſteries, and towns: this diffuſion of the middling and higher ranks, as well as of the loweſt, is infinitely advantageous to the kingdom.

Hanover is the capital not only of the Duchy of that name, but alſo of all the King's German dominions; it is ſituated in a plain more fruitful than moſt that I have paſſed lately, and is a tolerably pleaſant country. There is a wall, a ditch, and a few other fortifications round it, but they are objects rather of policy than ſtrength. Part of the town, which they call the old city, is ſituated on one ſide of the little river Leina, and is very poorly built; the ſtreets are crooked,

crooked, and not well paved; nor have they any buildings which make amends for theſe defects: but the new city, on the other ſide of the river, is much handſomer, being tolerably well built, and poſſeſſes ſeveral ſtructures that ornament it greatly. The churches are not remarkable for their ſtructure, but the inſides are well decorated with marble, and contain ſome paintings by the Flemiſh maſters, which are in their ſtile fine, though not equal to what I have mentioned at Antwerp. The opera houſe is a handſome edifice, and holds a great number of ſpectators; but it is ſcarcely ever full, nor have operas been performed in it for ſome time. The elector's palace is an old caſtle, but not in the town; it is near it; it is an irregular building, without any beauties of architecture; it is, however, a building of conſiderable ſize, has ſeveral courts, and contains a vaſt deal of room. In one of the apartments are a great number of portraits of the Ducal family, ſome of which are admirably executed, four of them have been Emperors. The library is a large apartment, well filled with many ſcarce books, and the collection of manuſcripts is a valuable one. But what is much finer than the palace are the ſtables, which in-

finitely exceed thoſe which his Majeſty has at any of his palaces in England; and though he is never there, yet they are kept well filled: the ſame obſervation is to be made reſpecting the apartments in the palace, for there is a compleat court kept up, with all the great offices of ſtate and perſon, with attendants, guards, &c. which makes Hanover much more lively and agreeable than it would otherwiſe be, and occaſions more diverſions than would be found under different circumſtances: there is a theatre for French comedians, on which a company from Paris, containing ſeveral good performers, regularly exhibit: balls and concerts are not uncommon, and aſſemblies very numerous, in which is much deep play.

I had an invitation to the public table, kept at the King's expence, from the Great Chamberlain; this is the cuſtom of the principal courts in Germany, and is indeed imitated at many of the inferior ones: the converſation is general and polite, and the ſtate of a court, in moſt particulars, kept up with regularity and decency, and in ſome inſtances with magnificence.

Herenhauſen lies near this city; it is famous only for a ſmall hunting palace, with very magnificent gardens, in which the waterworks

terworks are particularly admired: but these gardens, like all others I have seen on the continent, are in the old taste, of strait lines and compass work; water hedges, lawns, walks, every thing regularly fatiguing; the jet-d'eau is, in its kind, fine; but the man who has been in England, and can admire a jet-d'eau, must have a miserable taste indeed: nothing in these gardens, which are situated on a sandy flat, will be admired, or even endured by those who have viewed the master-pieces in this art, which are now to be seen in England.

The 13th of August I left Hanover, taking the road to Zell, at the distance of about thirty miles, which was a day's journey. After travelling a few miles from Hanover, I passed through scarcely any thing but a sandy waste; here and there are spots of cultivation, sufficient to shew that the soil is highly capable of yielding very beneficial products, had it inhabitants for performing the necessary work; but the appearance of most of it is perfectly melancholy, and the inhabitants have a savage look and manner, which I did not find even in the deserts of Westphalia. The inn at Zell was so indifferent, that I was forced to make use of my portable bed, which made it more

bearable than I ſhould otherwiſe have found it. The ſign is the Electoral Arms.

The 14th I entered on the road, if it may be ſo called, to Hamburgh; the diſtance is near ſixty miles, and the whole way nothing to be found but ſlight villages, in the midſt of one continued foreſt, deſart, or marſh: this was the deſcription my landlord at Zell gave me; and I took the precaution of laying in a good ſtore of cold proviſions and wine, as I found that bacon and black bread were all I had to expect on the road. I went the firſt day to Werzendorf, a paltry village, at near the diſtance of forty miles, through a country, as wild as if it belonged to nobody, but much of it ſeemed highly capable of cultivation; the ſoil rich and deep, and yet left deſolate. At that village, I ſlept in my chaiſe. The next day's rout to Harburgh, which was between thirty and forty miles further, the country rather improved. I went through much foreſt, but alſo paſſed ſome cultivated country, in which the inhabitants appeared much eaſier and happier in their circumſtances: I remarked in ſeveral fields, that they cultivated a plant much reſembling a cabbage in the leaves, but with a root like a turnip; they plant them

them for their cattle, as it is hardy, and will ſtand their winter, which is very ſevere: thinking it might be of benefit to England, where I have heard complaints of turnips rotting, I bought a pound of the ſeed. They have it in plenty.

Harburgh is a ſea port on the Elbe, directly oppoſite to Hamburgh, and with which a little good management might make it a rival; but the trade carried on here at preſent is but inconſiderable: their harbour is as good for ſhips, and the Elbe opens all the interior part of Germany to them, as well as to that city: but liberty, and ſtocks already in trade, overbalance all other advantages. Harburgh is in the Electorate, where the government is abſolute, and her merchants have not an hundredth part of the ſtock in trade of thoſe at Hamburgh.

The 16th I paſſed the river to that city; but before I enter on a deſcription of it, I muſt make a few remarks on the preſent ſtate of the Electorate of Hanover.

During my journey through it I had been particular in my enquiries concerning the damage which the French had committed in the laſt war, after they had conquered it. I received different accounts; ſome aſ-

ſuring me, that they had almoſt ruined it; and others, on the contrary, inſiſting, that the miſchiefs of all kinds, which they occaſioned, had been repaired in one year after the peace: the latter intelligence I found to be neareſt the truth; and ſeveral perſons aſſured me, that the Electorate, upon the whole, gained more by ſupplying Duke Ferdinand's army, after the convention of Cloſterſeven was broken, than they had loſt by the French before. I obſerved very few buildings in ruin, but many that had been rebuilt and repaired ſince the peace; nor were there, in the parts of the country through which I travelled, any ſigns of an enemy having been in it; and yet I paſſed where the hotteſt work had been.

Regarding the preſent ſtate of the Electorate, it is to be conſidered under the heads of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue; all which important diviſions are to be diſpatched in a page or two. The inhabitants poſſeſs many tracts of fertile land, and ſuch as would enrich any people that applied with underſtanding and induſtry to its culture; but they are greatly deficient in both. The laws and cuſtoms of the country are much againſt it: in moſt parts the lands are cultivated by the peaſants, not for themſelves, but for

for the nobility, being in a ſtate of villainage. But if they would try the experiment of letting lands on long leaſes to farmers, as in England, and expect no work or return but rent alone, paid in money, leaving it to the farmer to cultivate his farm in the manner he liked beſt, they would ſoon ſee the advantages; induſtry would then ſhew itſelf. As to underſtanding and knowledge in the buſineſs, it would be eaſy for the King to eſtabliſh one farm, cultivated in the Engliſh way, in each diſtrict in his dominions, as a pattern for others to imitate.

There are not many manufactures in the Electorate that are of any conſequence; they have a few fabrics of linen, and ſome of coarſe woollen cloths; the ſituation of the country is not unfavourable, and it has ſeveral good ports for exportation and importation, which would allow it an active commerce, if proper encouragement was given; and would conſequently carry off many manufactures, or at leaſt animate them to ſupply themſelves: there is a ſort of a council of trade, but its operations are very languid. The revenues of the Electorate, before the laſt war, were reckoned at ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year; but while the war laſted they de-

clined much, and for ſome time they were in the hands of the French; ſince that period they have been riſing very quick, and are now ſaid to be equal to what they were before the war; this is a very conſiderable income, but out of it twenty thouſand troops are paid.

The general aggregate of the intereſts of the Electorate might be greatly advanced, if agriculture met with encouragement enough to produce an improvement of the waſte lands, if fabrics were eſtabliſhed in the towns, and if commerce was fixed in the ports; I do not mean a flouriſhing extended commerce, but an eſtabliſhment of an infantine one, ſuch as would increaſe of itſelf, and draw from foreigners that profit which they, at preſent, make by exporting and importing for the Hanoverians. This policy, in theſe circumſtances, would naturally raiſe the revenues; but before a great income can be drawn from a people, the people muſt be enriched, and nothing can enrich any nation but agriculture, manufactures, or commerce: mines might be added, but their wealth is more for enriching certain individuals, than ſpreading a general wealth through the ſtate.

While

While there are ſuch numerous tracts of of waſte land, the firſt object ought to be their firſt improvement. This, I believe, will, in all countries, hold good, even to a maxim: if fifty thouſand pounds are ready to be expended in the national encouragement of ſomething, it will yield more general profit to a people, to employ it on thoſe waſtes, rather than on any other object; for the ſoil ſhould always be fully cultivated, before the attention of the Prince is drawn to the encouragement of other objects. There are two circumſtances which are favourable to the improvement of the waſtes in the Electorate; firſt, the ſoil is capable of it; I paſſed ſeveral tracks, even in Holland, and many in Weſtphalia, that are much more ſteril in appearance; and the information I received concerning them convinced me, that moſt of the waſtes in this country might be improved, comparatively, at a cheap rate. Secondly, the Germans are a heavy, phlegmatic people, who are conducted with no great difficulty in improvements and undertakings which do not extend beyond the ſphere of their uſual practice, but are very obſtinate in their oppoſition to thoſe which are quite new: novel eſtabliſhments in arts, manufactures, or commerce, ſcarcely ever ſucceed well, unleſs

unleſs the attention of the Sovereign is accute and unremitted; but the improvement of waſtes is but a line beyond the practice they regularly purſue in common agriculture, and would at once be underſtood in the deſign of the undertaking. Moſt of the inhabitants of the empire, and all in thoſe countries that have not flouriſhing manufactures, ſubſiſt entirely by agriculture; and the nobility are, in general, the cultivators of their own eſtates; wherever this is the caſe, it cannot be difficult to perſuade them of the importance of bringing all the waſtes into culture.

Hamburgh is incomparably the fineſt city I have ſeen ſince I entered Germany; and it is well known to be the moſt flouriſhing and populous in the whole Empire. The ſituation on the great river Elbe is what has raiſed it to ſo much wealth by commerce; that river gives it a very good harbour, and ſpreads its merchandize throughout a moſt extenſive part of the empire; it ſtands near ſeventy miles from the ocean. The walls form nearly a circle of five miles and an half circumference, including ſeveral iſlands in the river, on which a part of it is built: the number of inhabitants fluctuate, between one hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty

twenty thouſand. A channel of the river runs through the center of it, and conſequently brings ſhips moſt advantageouſly to the very merchants doors: there are alſo ſome canals, which, with the channels formed by the river, ſpread the trade through moſt parts of the city. The city is fortified by a high wall and vaſt ditch, with ſome outworks of no great conſequence; they have thrown up lines to encompaſs them, and united them with the Elbe; and built a ſtrong fort near the river, which they call the Star Fort. The ramparts are pleaſant to walk on, being covered with graſs, and doubly planted: the garriſon never exceeds two thouſand five hundred men, which are too few by ten thouſand to defend the town; but Hamburgh does not depend ſo much on the ſtrength of her walls and her garriſon, as being a free city of the empire, and being claimed by ſeveral neighbouring Princes, who are wonderfully jealous of each others deſigns on it.

The town has ſix gates towards the land, and three to the river. It contains eighty-four bridges thrown over the canals, and the branches of the river: they have alſo in the city forty water-mills, ſix windmills, ſix ſluices, and ſix large market places.

The

The ſtreets are by no means pleaſing; they are narrow, crooked, and badly paved; and the houſes being very high, many of them are, at noon day, half dark; and what makes them ſtill more deteſtable, is the planting them with a row of trees on each ſide. The buildings are all of brick, and which are not the beſt coloured. Upon the whole, the city, though much larger, does not exceed Briſtol in elegance; the principal houſes are thoſe of the great merchants, which, though they are thus deficient in agreeableneſs, are well contrived for the convenience of trade, as they are generally ſituated on the water-ſide, and a part of them are warehouſes with open doors and cranes; ſo that their ſhips are unloaded at their doors, which, in their buſineſs, is a circumſtance of very great importance. The houſes of ſome of their warehouſes are from five to ſeven ſtories high; this is owing, very much, to a general want of cellaring in the city; for all vaults and cellars are rendered almoſt uſeleſs by the annual floods, that riſe the Elbe ſo much as to fill moſt of them with water: even their wines are kept two or three ſtories high, which is a very great inconvenience. A very inelegant cuſtom among the merchants, is to make their halls into

into warehouſes; you enter the beſt houſes in town, and find yourſelf at once among hogſheads and bales of goods; and what is full as bad, they uſe it alſo for a coach houſe and harneſs room; and in ſome houſes the ſtables are under the ſame roof with the apartments.

The churches are the principal public buildings, but they have not much to recommend them. St. Catharine's is a large edifice, with a very lofty ſteeple, and contains a prodigious organ with ſix thouſand pipes; but this, I ſuppoſe, was a lye of my conductors, uſually told to ſtrangers. St. Michael is a modern building, light and pleaſing.

Hamburgh contains many well endowed hoſpitals, under admirable management. Their Foundling holſpital has a revenue of more than ſix thouſand pounds a year, and it is under ſuch a wiſe regulation, that great numbers of lives are ſaved by it; they have another for poor travellers, and a third for diſabled ſeamen. Their work-houſe is alſo a large building, wherein they confine to hard labour all ſtrolers and vagabonds; the effect of which is ſo great, that I have not ſeen a beggar in the city. Their town houſe is a very old and irregular building, though it is the place where the

Senate

from Spain, Portugal, and Italy. They have twenty-two ſhips, the largeſt belonging to them are regularly employed in the trade of London, making each one voyage every year, there and back; theſe ſhips are the principal ones for this trade, for it is found much more advantageous to employ them than Engliſh ſhips. The Dutch alſo carry on a very conſiderable trade with this city, in which they have great advantages by means of their Eaſt-India goods, their monopoly of ſpices, and their barrelled herrings. The French likewiſe come in for a ſhare; their trade hither has much increaſed of late years, ſo that they rival England in ſeveral branches.

They have ſeveral conſiderable manufactures within the city, of which the moſt important is ſugar-baking or refining; this buſineſs is ſo flouriſhing as to employ no leſs than three hundred ſugar-bakers, for they ſupply all Germany, and the principal markets of the North. This trade depends very much on the commerce with Great Britain, as from thence they have moſt of their Muſcovado ſugars. France ſupplies them with ſome, and before the laſt war with more than at preſent; for the conqueſt of the French iſlands throwing the trade totally

totally into the hands of the London merchants, they made ſo good a uſe of their enlarged correſpondence, as to preſerve a greater ſhare at the peace than they enjoyed before the war. This is one inſtance, and a very ſtriking one, that a correſpondence once fixed, and ſupported by ſtocks in trade, is very difficult to be overthrown by any nation.

The weaving velvets, brocades, damaſks, and other rich ſilks, forms another branch of manufacture, which has much increaſed of late years. The ſober Hamburghers complain of the increaſe of luxury in their own city, and indeed it would be ſurprizing if they eſcaped entire from the contagion, while they employed ſo many hands in feeding the luxury of the German cities, and the North. Theſe rich ſilks find a vent in the Baltic, and in the interior countries of Germany.

The ſtocking manufactory is another fabrick which is highly beneficial to the city, by employing great numbers of their poor in knitting, who could not otherwiſe find a ſubſiſtance. Another very conſiderable trade is that of callico-printing, which is carried on here to a very great amount; they rival the Dutch in this article, and alſo the En-

gliſh in common goods; but, for the elegant patterns on very fine linens, no nation equals the printers about London, whoſe works are ſought after with ſuch avidity, through moſt parts of Europe, that the Dutch ſend over vaſt quantities of linens to be printed in England: the Hamburghers ſend great quantities of their printed goods into Germany, and alſo to the North. Dying is another branch of their manufactures which employs a great number of hands; they are reckoned the beſt dyers in Germany. Whalebone is another manufacture in which they excel; nor is this an inconſiderable fabrick: they have entered largely, of late years, into the Greenland fiſhery, and with pretty good ſucceſs; they reckon themſelves the moſt dangerous rivals in this fiſhery that the Dutch have; and certainly they have employed ſuch ſtocks in the undertaking, and conducted with ſuch ſpirit, that they have conſtantly ſent a large number of ſhips, well built, fitted out, and manned, to the fiſhery; this has increaſed their trade in other articles, from an ability of ſupplying oil and manufactured whalebone at the firſt hand: ſo true is it ever found, that the poſſeſſion of a conſiderable commerce, is the beſt foundation in the world whereon

whereon to erect a ſtill greater; and the acquiſition of one branch is generally followed by that of another; for a fixed correſpondence, and large eſtabliſhed ſtocks, have ſuch weight in trade, that ſcarce any thing is able to oppoſe them.

For the convenience of trade they have long had a well eſtabliſhed bank of depoſit, which is generally reckoned to be one of the beſt and moſt ſecure in Europe; it is under the direction of ſome of the moſt conſiderable merchants in the city, who are appointed annually by the whole republic, and the government is anſwerable for any failure or deficiency.

The foreign commerce and ſhipping of Hamburgh is riſen to a very extraordinary height, conſidering that the whole republic conſiſts only of the ſingle city, with ſcarcely any territory: they aſſured me, that they once poſſeſſed ſix thouſand three hundred ſhips, great and ſmall; but at preſent the number was not more than four thouſand four hundred, though their burthen is greater than formerly; they annually ſend from fifty to eighty ſhips to Greenland alone. The largeſt veſſels that uſe the port cannot come up to the city, but are forced to caſt anchor at New Mills, which is four miles

below the town. The tide flows ſixteen miles higher up the river than Hamburgh, which is in all about ninety miles from the ſea, and is thought to be as long a courſe as in any river in Europe.

Hamburgh is ſo occupied by trade and manufacture, that ſcarce any diverſions are to be met with in it, except billiards, coffee-houſes, and concerts. They are fond of muſic, and are expenſive in their public eſtabliſhments in its favour. The principal merchants have private concerts at their houſes, at which one ſometimes meets pretty good company, that is with people who have ſome ideas beyond their counting-houſes. I have been introduced to ſome of the moſt conſiderable families in the city, and can aſſert, that there are among them ſome, who have improved themſelves by the liberal converſe of the world, in moſt parts of Europe; and throughout the city are many perſons that have travelled. In general, there is an inelegance runs through every thing here; but we muſt make an exception in favour of ſome of the moſt wealthy inhabitants, in whoſe houſes I have ſeen as much appearance of taſte and luxury, as in any houſes of perſons of equal fortune in London. But amongſt the inferior people, not the lower

claſſes,

claſſes, but merchants and manufacturers, whoſe circumſtances are not great, the very contrary is the caſe; they are in nothing equal to the ſimilar ranks in the trading towns in England.

There is one ſpecies of luxury, in which, however, none of the Hamburghers vie with our Engliſh merchants, I mean in the expenſiveneſs and elegance of their houſes, and in their coſtly and ornamental furniture; ſome of the merchants houſes in London are furniſhed like the palaces of Princes; but the houſes of the richeſt people in this city have nothing in them that even reaches mediocrity. When luxury is entered, it highly behoves the government of a country, or ſtate, or city, to direct that luxury into ſuch channels as may prove of moſt ſervice to the lower claſſes of the people. In this reſpect, the taſte of the Engliſh traders, is of an infinite advantage to their country, by finding conſtant employment to great numbers of uſeful artizans and manufacturers; and it cannot be doubted but this is far more beneficial, than expending the ſame money in exceſſive eating and drinking.

The higheſt appearance of luxury at Hamburgh, or at leaſt of unneceſſary expence, is in the entertainments which are given at

taverns, upon occaſion of weddings, chriſtenings, name-days, &c. in theſe many of the wealthy people expend as much as would build houſes, and furniſh them when they had done.

The Hamburghers much affect the manners of the French, particularly the women, in their dreſs and converſation; but the imitation is not that which will pleaſe any other nation; the men are full of French in language, dreſs, ceremony, and compliment. Coaches at Hamburgh are not conſidered there as an article of luxury; they are kept by vaſt numbers of tradeſmen, from whom one could not expect ſuch an exertion of expence.

I before remarked, that the Hamburghers are veiy fond of muſic, and particularly of giving concerts; their taſte once carried them to the maintenance of an Italian opera, which in ſuch a city was, I think, running into luxury too far, and ſo they found; for they could not ſupport it properly, and ſo it dropped. They have a theatre, on which German and French comedies are exhibited in the winter; and of this amuſement they are very fond. Another diverſion, of which they partake a good deal, is that of walking dreſſed on a mall, which they call the Maiden's

den's Walk: it is a beautiful one, on the banks of a baſon, formed by the river Alſter; it is a thouſand feet long, but not more than thirty broad; it is planted on each ſide, and nothing parts it from the water but a rail; and as there are ſtairs for taking boats and barges, the whole is uncommonly chearful and agreeable.

Notwithſtanding the numerous markets at Hamburgh, the city is not a place for eating and drinking luxurioufly: their butcher's meat is not excellent, and their fiſh is little of it of fine ſorts, nor have they any oyſters; the garden ſtuffs and poultry, I think, is the beſt fare: claret, that is good, is rarely found; but the old hock and rheniſh they have is in good perfection. My quarters were at the Keyzerhoff, where I met with extreme good entertainment, a good bed, rooms cleaner than in any inn I have been at in Germany, and attentive waiting, but the expence runs high; I did not eſcape under a guinea and half a day.

Upon the whole, this city is not a place to which a ſtranger ſhould reſort for pleaſure; the people are enveloped in trade, from which they do not break forth, but to ſome great exertion of entertainment, ſome chriſtening, burial (for they entertain at the

death, as well as the birth of their relations) or wedding; and then theſe times of luxury and expence are not under the influence of taſte or elegance: the manners of the people do not pleaſe, for they are an aukward mixture of German plainneſs with French eclat; of German honeſty with French inſincerity; and make in the whole but a motley figure. Their amuſements do not deſerve the name, muſic excepted, and that is often bad; and the places of reception for ſtrangers vile, except one houſe, and that is extravagantly dear; from whence it may eaſily be judged, that Hamburgh is no place for a traveller to ſtay long at.

Travels through Denmark.

CHAP. IV.

Altena—Lubeck—Curious clock—Journey acroſs Holſtein and Sleſwick—Deſcription of the Country — Denmark — Accidental meeting with a Daniſh Nobleman—His great Improvements deſcribed—Manufactures—Commerce—Agriculture—His enlarged views—Journey through the Northern Parts of Denmark.

I Left Hamburgh the 21ſt of Auguſt. Falling down the Elbe to Altena is pleaſant enough; that town is the well known rival to Hamburgh, built profeſſedly to ſteal its trade; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſituation is very well adapted for the pilfering deſign; nor has it failed, for ſhe has proved a thief in earneſt. The merchants at this place have been encouraged ſo much, by its being declared a free port, and by the open liberty of conſcience allowed her, that they have made the town flouriſh: there is more trade carried on here than the Ham-

Hamburghers will own; nor is this at all ſuprizing, for the city of Hamburgh has done ſo much miſchief to her own trade, by cuſtoms and exciſes, whilſt Altena, being free, hath taken immediate advantage of any ſuch errors. One great inſtance of this is in Sileſia linens; a ſmall duty was laid upon them at Hamburgh, which threw at once the commiſſion buſineſs in them to the Alteneſe. The Senate, feeling their error, reverſed the duty, and gained ſome of their trade back again, but not all; much of it remained with their rivals, and has continued ſlowly increaſing ever ſince. This ſhews, among a thouſand other inſtances, how dangerous a thing trade is to meddle with; it cannot be burthened or clogged ever ſo little without danger of its taking flight. With Hamburgh the caſe is particularly delicate, for Altena is on the ſame river, commands the ſame inland navigation, and has the great advantage of being a free port; ſo that it is impoſſible an error ſhould be committed on one ſide of the water, without advantage being taken of it on the other.

The buildings at Altena are better in appearance than thoſe of Hamburgh; the ſtreets are ſtrait and regularly built, wide, and

and well paved. There is a new Town-Houſe erected, and ſeveral other public buildings ſhew, that the place is on a flouriſhing and improving hand. The merchants houſes, like thoſe of Hamburgh, are on the water-ſide, ſo that ſhips unload and load at their doors. The King of Denmark made it the ſtaple of the Daniſh Eaſt India company, which has been of very great importance to the town: this meaſure was an admirable one; for Altena, by means of her ſituation, diſtributes the India goods where no other town in Denmark could; ſhe ſends large quantities into moſt parts of Germany, and herein rivals the Hamburghers, who are forced to buy theirs of the Dutch. In all theſe points the intereſt of Denmark has been very well conſidered for this laſt century, from a noble attention in their Kings to promote whatever has been moſt for the intereſt of their ſubjects.

But while I mention the advantages that kingdom receives from the eſtabliſhment of Alterna, and the conſiderable trade carried on in it, I muſt, at the ſame time, obſerve, that the great freedom of reception which reigns here, brings all ſorts of wretches here; even malefactors from Hamburgh here find an aſylum; nor does a merchant

or

or tradeſman of any kind fail and defraud their creditors, but he appears here again on the ſtage, and carries on a freſh trade, as if nothing had happened: no ſtews or ſtreet-walkers are allowed at Hamburgh, but both abound at Altena in the greateſt plenty; and the place ſwarms with Jews, who are not of that advantage to its commerce which ſome have thought.

The way from Altena to Lubec, which was the route I propoſed taking, is back near Hamburgh, and then turning off to the left, the diſtance near forty miles; and there being no place on the road, at which the accommodation for lying would be tolerable, I determined to ſtay the night at Altena, and go off early next morning, ſo as to reach Lubec by night: my landlord, who, by the way, is an impoſing raſcal, introduced to me a gentleman, a profeſſor, he called himſelf, in one of the univerſities of Saxony, who had travelled much in Holſtein and Denmark; that he might give me ſome intelligence of the proper meaſures to be taken in a journey, I invited the man of learning to dine with me: he proved a very ſenſible intelligent man: fortunately for me, he ſpoke French fluently, and I had much con-

converſation with him, which proved of great uſe to me afterwards.

He aſſured me, that I ſhould not find travelling in Holſtein and Denmark near ſo diſagreeable as in Weſtphalia and the Electorate of Hanover; that the people were cleaner, and infinitely more civil; but that I ſhould by all means buy horſes, inſtead of depending on thoſe at the poſt town; horſes, he ſaid, were cheap at Altena, and I ſhould travel quicker with my own than with hired. I followed his advice, and bought three, a pair for my chaiſe, and one for my man; I alſo hired a German poſtillion to drive me through Denmark, and alſo Sweden, in caſe I ſhould go over thither. This man I conſidered as a treaſure, for I could underſtand him very well in French, and he could ſpeak German, Daniſh, and Swediſh; this was juſt ſuch an interpreter as I wanted. I made ſome enquiries of the worthy profeſſor, concerning the ſtate of Holſtein and Denmark, and the tracks of country in them the moſt worth ſeeing: he told me I ſhould find much entertainment in the great improvements made, wherever I turned myſelf; that government had eſtabliſhed manufactures in various places, which were of the greateſt ſervice to the country; and that uncommon encouragement

ragement had been given to agriculture, which had been attended with valuable effects. When I aſked him concerning the roads, he ſhook his head; upon that point he could give me no ſatisfaction: I found I was to expect no good ones. He aſked me, in his turn, if I propoſed travelling through Saxony? I replied, I believed I ſhould return to England through that part of Germany, after having compleated the tour of the northern kingdoms. He then aſſured me, I ſhould find nothing in Germany comparable to Saxony; I find, continued he, you do not confine your obſervations to the productions of fine arts, but take notice of the ſtate of agriculture, manufactures, and trade; that is a very uſeful way of travelling, and believe me, you will find full entertainment in the Electorate and Duchies of Saxony. I expreſſed ſome ſurprize at this, ſaying, that I ſhould have thought the miſchiefs occaſioned by the late war muſt have been too ſevere yet to be recovered: he ſaid they were by no means recovered, but that I ſhould be pleaſed to ſee the quickneſs and alacrity which the people applied themſelves to remedy thoſe ſeverities they had ſuffered; in which they are much more aſſiſted by the government than they have been

been for an age before. The Profeſſor favoured me with his company for the beſt part of the evening, during which time we had a very great variety of converſation of the ſtate of Germany, the progreſs of literature, the events of the laſt war, and the proſpect of a new one.

The next morning I took chaiſe for Lubeck. The country is, in general, ſandy, ſtoney, or woodland; but I paſſed ſeveral tracks, in which are meadows and paſtures of a tolerable appearance. I could not perceive any of thoſe improvements, which my friend, the Profeſſor, aſſured me I ſhould ſee very thickly ſtrewed over the country. I obſerved ſcarce any incloſures, which is alone a mark of a general bad management. I baited at Schoenbar, and again at Stenhorſt, a village about twelve miles on this ſide Lubeck. I had no great reaſon from theſe ſtops to praiſe the cleanlineſs or the civility of the people; and the country, for moſt of the way, till you get within a few miles of Lubeck, is poor and diſagreeable, but there it begins to mend much.

Lubeck is pretty well ſituated on a river that falls into the Baltick, about eight miles from it, at a village where the port for ſhips is, for only ſmall craft can come up to the

city. It is odly built on two ſides of a hill, but is romantic to look at for that reaſon; at the bottom of each declivity is a river. The ſtreets are better laid out than thoſe of Hamburgh, broad and regular, and the houſes in general pretty well built. The city is kept very clean, by means of its uneven ſituation, for every ſhower of rain waſhes down all dirt, and leaves it in better order than any ſcavengers could. Here are ſome public buildings, which they make a parade of ſhewing to ſtrangers, but there is very little remarkable in them; it hath five churches, a town-houſe, an arſenal, and an hoſpital.

St. Mary's church is the moſt conſiderable in the place; it is a lofty edifice, ſtanding in the midſt of the city: it has a double ſteeple, two hundred and ſeventeen yards high, built in 1304; the inſide of it is profuſely ornamented with pillars, monuments, &c. but there are few of them which deſerve much notice. The great altar is very richly executed in marble, by Quillin, who did ſo many at Antwerp; near it is a famous clock, which is the moſt remarkable object at Lubeck; it exhibits the ecliptic, zodiac, equator, and tropics, and the planets in their ſeveral courſes; which are ſo minutely done, that

that the ſtation of any of them, is to be found at every hour of the day: it ſhews the regular variations of the celeſtial bodes, ſun riſing and ſetting, the eclipſes, feſtivals, and other remarkable days; all which it will continue to ſhew till the year 1875. Beſides all this, there are ſeveral automata; among others, a figure of Jeſus Chriſt, with a door on its right hand, which opening at twelve at noon, out come in order of proceſſion, the Emperor and the ſeven eldeſt Electors, and turning to the image, make a profound obeiſance; this the figure returns, by a wave of his hand; after which the whole group retires in the ſame order, through a door on the left, and both doors ſhut directly. In the tower is another piece of machinery, and a much more agreeable one, the chimes; they play the hours with a moſt pleaſing melody, and minute exactneſs. Under them is the bell, on which is ſtruck the hour; this is performed by a figure of Time, whilſt a leſſer figure, repreſenting Mortality, and ſtanding at the other ſide of the bell, turns aſide its head at every ſtroke. This work, for its preſervation, is ſurrounded with a frame of wire: by the inſcription it appears to have been erected in 1405.

The Dance of Death, a famous paining here, as old as 1463, makes a great noiſe in theſe parts of Germany; it is curious, but will not call for much attention.

The cathedral at Lubeck is a building of very great antiquity, being erected in the year 1170, by Duke Henry the Lion, anceſter of the preſent Elector of Hanover. The occaſion of building it is mentioned in an inſcription on one of the walls, viz. That Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, hunting in this part of the country, caught a ſtag, with a gold collar and croſs about its neck, on which was this inſcription, *Hoc me Cæſar donavit*, containing the date of the year, which was in the reign of Charlemain: and the Duke, from ſurprize at this accident, erected this cathedral for commemoration of it on the ſame ſpot, and endowed it with an handſome revenue. In the top of the church is to be ſeen the figure of the ſtag.

Hiſtory tells us, that Lubeck was once the head of the famous Hanſeatick League. A confederacy, which made for ſo long a time ſuch a noiſe in Europe, had a very trifling origin: it was nothing more than Lubeck and Hamburgh making an agreement in 1241 to defend their property, jointly againſt

againſt the banditti that much infeſted the roads. The good effects of the union were ſuch, that Wiſmar, Roſtock, and Grypſwald joined it, for the ſecurity of their commerce by ſea, as well as for clearing the roads of robbers. The confederacy went on, increaſing to the number of eighty-five in all; theſe were divided into four claſſes, at the head of each of which were Lubeck, Cologne, Brunſwick, and Dantzick: but finding themſelves much more reſpected from their union, and better able to keep the ſea free from pirates, and the roads from robbers, they by degrees enlarged their views, and took part in the quarrels of their neighbours, ſo as ſoon to arrive at a very conſiderable influence upon their affairs. They alſo extended their union, to cementing the trade of all the cities into one aggregate; and for this purpoſe they erected four principal magazines or ſtaples for the better vending their commodities, which proved the original of factories ſo well known ſince in Europe. Theſe were at Novogrod in Ruſſia, afterwards removed to Revel, and from thence to Narva in Livonia; another at Berghen in Norway; a third at Bruges in Flanders, but removed, with the commerce of that city, to Antwerp, to the famous houſe of

Eaſterlings; and the fourth at London, in the Steel-yard. In the times of their moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the Hanſe towns were formidable to all Europe; they fitted out more than once above two hundred ſhips of war, and in their military expeditions committed the ſupreme direction to Lubeck; this was the occaſion of that city's having ſo much power and proſperity. She governed the Baltic as if it had been her patrimony; ſhe made war upon the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, and other German Princes, and even againſt the King's of Denmark and Sweden, making deſcents on their coaſts; putting every thing they met to fire and ſword; burning and plundering great tracks of country. But it was this haughtineſs that proved the ruin of the league; for the neighbouring Princes falling ſeparately on the towns in their dominions that were in it, forced them to diſſolve it; and with their confederacy their trade fell by degrees, till it came at laſt to nothing. The only cities, at preſent, in the league, and which have from it the leaſt appearance of any union, are Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, Roſtock, Dantzick and Cologne.

Lubeck has yet a trade that is not deſpicable: her ſituation and excellent port are extremely

extremely advantageous for the commerce of the Baltick. She imports the products of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ruſſia, and Poland; and by her inland navigation diſtributes them through many parts of Germany. They import from the ſouth of Europe, and from the countries on the Rhine, much wine, which they ſend into all the countries on the Baltick; and the places with which ſhe has moſt trade are, Riga, Revel, Narva, and Peterſburgh.

In many particulars there is a reſemblance between the way of living, diverſions, and manners of the people of Lubeck, with thoſe of Hamburgh: there is not much to admire in either, but the former, I think, are more cleanly, and their houſes better, and much more agreeably furniſhed. Another circumſtance, I think right to mention, is the goodneſs of the inns; I found a good houſe, extreme good proviſions, cleanlineſs, and much civility, at the King of England's Head, and, at the ſame time, full as cheap again as at the Keyzerhoff at Hamburgh.

The 24th I left Lubeck, and took the road to Travemund, which is at the diſtance of about eight miles: it is properly the port to Lubeck, for here the ſhips of great burthen take in and deliver their cargoes:

the harbour is very ſafe and convenient; and and that and the town are well fortified at the expence of the Lubeckers. Having breakfaſted, and been civilly entertained, I took chaiſe again for Eutyn, at the diſtance of about ſixteen miles. All the country from Lubeck thither, except a few moory places, is pretty well cultivated, and the ſoil rich; they ſeem fond of paſturage, and have large droves of black cattle, and numerous herds of ſwine; and the bacon they make is, I think, little, if any thing inferior to that of Weſtphalia. Eutyn is a little town in a low ſituation, ſurrounded with ſome rich meadows. I dined there at a very indifferent inn, but the landlady managed to get me a very good diſh of fiſh, which ſhe dreſſed tolerably well; a thing not common through this country. From hence I again took chaiſe for Ploen, where I lodged that night. The country I paſſed was various, but has many marſhes, which feed numbers of cattle at this ſeaſon of the year; but they are not dry enough till June or July to turn into. Ploen is very romantically ſituated on the ſide of a hill, hanging to a very fine lake of the ſame name, which is in ſome parts ſurrounded by hills, all one continued foreſt of timber. From the window of my bed-

chamber

chamber I looked down on a part of the town beneath me, then over the lake, which is a fine expanſe of water, agreeably varied by fiſhing boats, and the whole ſurrounded, in the ampitheatre ſtile, with hills covered with wood: I was fortunate in a very fine day, and ſcarcely ever ſaw a more ſtriking landſcape. The town is ſtrong, from the neighbourhood of a marſh behind the hill, and it is further ſtrengthened by a caſtle.

In the morning of the 25th I ſet out for Kiel, the diſtance, as the crow flies, is not more than fifteen miles; but the lakes ſurround it ſo, and interrupt the road, that I made it twenty-four. The country is various, ſome of it pretty well cultivated; much foreſt, ſome ſtony tracks, and others of ſand; nor is it wanting in large marſhes. I ſtopped at ſome of the cottages for making enquiries into their huſbandry; and I obſerved, that they appeared very eaſy and chearful in their circumſtances: the government does not ſeem to be ſevere. I think the peaſants are much more at their eaſe than they are in the Electorate of Hanover, or in Weſtphalia; they were ſowing wheat in their fields, which, upon examination, did not ſeem to be badly prepared:

pared: I remarked they ſowed no land with wheat but what was well manured; for which purpoſe they uſe a compoſt, which they are very attentive and careful in making: it conſiſts in litter, the dung of their cattle, earth dug out of bogs, and wood aſhes; this they mix together, by turning over ſeveral times, and once or twice a week they water it well, by throwing up the emptyings of a little reſervoir near it, which fills, with the drainings of the dunghill, from rains: this ſyſtem appears to be very enlightened; whether it was recommended by authors who have written on huſbandry I do not recollect, but it certainly deſerves attention.

Kiel is a town of ſome note in this country, from its trade, which is carried on by means of a bay of the Baltick, that comes up to it, and mixes its waters with thoſe of the lake. It is pretty well built, the ſtreets ſtrait and wide, and has ſome public buildings deſerving of notice; particularly a ducal palace, an univerſity, a town-houſe where the eſtates of the Duchy uſed to meet, and an hoſpital, together with a caſtle on a hill, which once was ſtrong; a wall divides it into an old and new town; the new is the beſt built, but the beſt ſtreets in it are diſfigured by rows of trees, which Dutch cuſtom,

tom, of *rus in urbe*, is deteſtable. The rows of trees on the harbour are better, and form ſome walks agreeable enough.

From Kiel I reached Rendſburgh by night, through a country principally addicted to feeding cattle. I found the peaſants ſeemed to be eaſy in their circumſtances; moſt of them are little farmers, and maſters of large herds of cattle and hogs. I found in ſome parts that they hired little farms of the nobility, upon leaſe, which is what I had not ſeen for a long while; and theſe people appear to profit by the favour, though their farms are too ſmall to ſhew it much, and ſome of them conſiſting in nothing more than a regular licence of turning a certain number of cattle and hogs into certain woody tracks of foreſt land. Rendſburgh is pretty ſtrongly fortified, but I do not think it within many degrees of being impregnable, which the inhabitants give out. I met with excellent entertainment at the Lubeck Arms in this place, and at a very reaſonable rate: I had wild fowl, lobſters, potted moor game, and ſeveral other diſhes for my ſupper, with a bottle of wine, which they called claret, but reſembled the port we drink in England from Guernſey; and the whole reckoning, for myſelf, two ſervants, and three horſes, came

came to no more than fifteen ſhillings Engliſh.

The 26th I took the firſt ſtage to Sleſwick, which is the capital of the duchy of the ſame name; the diſtance is near twenty miles, through a much better cultivated country than any I had ſeen ſince I left Lubeck. It is ſituated on the river Sley, which falls into the Baltick within five miles of it. It is fortified pretty ſtrongly, well built, the ſtreets wide, and ſome of them well paved, and the place very populous for its ſize. Among the public buildings is a ducal palace, which they ſhew to ſtrangers: it does not contain much that is worthy of notice, except a library, which contains a few antient manuſcripts, and a cabinet of rarities in natural hiſtory, which has a few things that are really curious. In the gardens, are ſome water-works, and many walks in the old taſte, which the poor people of this country think great exertions of magnificence. The principal church is antient, and a very large fabric: it contains many monuments of the ducal families, but none that will yield much entertainment to a traveller.

From Sleſwick I reached Flenſburgh by night, which is at the diſtance of about ſeventeen

venteen miles. This ſtage was through a country, which, upon the whole, is pretty well cultivated. I obſerved in many of the farms that they were ſowing rye, the ſoil being a light, ſandy loam: upon enquiring why they did not apply it to wheat, they ſaid they had no compoſt for it; from whence I underſtood that the diſtinction they make between theſe grains is, that rye will do upon the ſame land as wheat, though no manure is ſpread; and that wheat will do upon the rye land, if well manured. The farms I ſtopped at were cultivated by peaſants, for a nobleman in the neighbourhood. It is a miſtake to ſuppoſe, that the peaſants in Denmark are ſold with the land, like cattle; from what I obſerved, they ſeem to have ſome degree of property in the farms they cultivate; but I am ſenſible, that they owe much of this eaſe, under which they live, to ſome new regulations which have lately been iſſued by the miniſtry at Copenhagen. I obſerved ſeveral fields of turnips with cabbage leaves, of which I made mention before; theſe they cultivate for their cattle in winter, and they find they are hardy enough for the ſevereſt winters, which is certainly a very valuable quality. In ſummer they have tolerable paſturage for

for their cattle, but in winter they are often much troubled to find food enough.

The town of Flenſburgh is very well ſituated at the bottom of a bay of the Baltick. It is very well built of brick; the ſtreets being broad, ſtrait, and ſome of them very well paved; but others very deep and miry. The harbour is a good one, admitting ſhips of four hundred tons burthen up to the town; this is ſuch an advantage, that the town carries on a pretty good trade. The principal building in the town is St. John's church, which is an handſome edifice: the ſituation of the town is romantic, being nearly ſurrounded with mountains, at a ſmall diſtance. I found very decent accommodation here, at the ſign of the Prince; and upon explaining to my landlord my deſign of travelling through the whole Peninſula of Jutland, before I took the tour of the iſlands to Copenhagen, and that I ſhould go firſt to Rypen, he aſſured me that I ſhould find it but a diſagreeable journey; that I had near forty miles to Rypen, without one public accommodation at which I could think of lodging; that even for my dinner he would recommend me to take ſome cold fowl and ham, with a lobſter or two, and ſome wine: he told me, that I ſhould

ſhould find the people very civil, and that my horſes would be taken good care of, and well fed. This advice of my landlord I thought very rational, and therefore determined to purſue it; and I had no reaſon to repent of the precaution. I found the country very well cultivated, much better than any I had been in ſince I entered Denmark. I paſſed by very little waſte land; moſt of it was occupied by corn not yet reaped, by ſtubbles, by turnips, or by meadows and paſtures. There was an eſſential difference, I found, between the ſtate of the countrymen in ſome tracks, from what I obſerved in others; for I paſſed through ſome eſtates in which they had no property, but ſeemed to be as entirely dependant on the will of the landlord as the cattle in the fields; and it was viſible, in the miſery which I found in the cottages, that this ſtate of villainage is pernicious to the intereſts of the country. Another circumſtance I remarked was, the country ſeats, which are ſpread, though thinly, over the country: through Germany I took notice ſcarcely of one; but in this country I reckoned five between Flenſburgh and Rypen. They have in general a melancholy, ſequeſtered appearance, being uſually the remains

remains of old caſtles, with large moats of water around them; and the whole half ſurrounded with a thick wood. Theſe houſes belong either to nobles or gentlemen; but the latter have almoſt as many privileges as the former: they are all occupied in cultivating their eſtates; but it is very extraordinary to ſee, that the land thus managed by the owner, is not better conducted than the other tracks in the hands of the farmers and peaſants.

The town of Rypen ſtands on the river Nipſaw, which forms three channels, and divides the place into as many parts: it falls into the North ſea about three miles below the town, and forms one of the beſt harbours in Denmark. This advantage occaſions trade here in fiſheries, alſo ſome to Hamburgh, a little to Amſterdam; and they have a few ſmall ſhips which uſe the trade from Norway and the Baltick to England. There is a univerſity here, but it is not in a flouriſhing ſituation; it is likewiſe the ſee of a Biſhop; and they have for their defence a fortified caſtle. Their church is built of hewn ſtone; the ſteeple is ſo high that it ſerves as a land-mark to ſailors on this coaſt, which is generally eſteemed very dangerous.

The

The 28th I dined at Warde, a little town twenty miles from Rypen, on a river which falls into the German ocean, and which maintains a few fiſhermen. One merchant only reſides here, who carries on a tolerable trade, with a few maſters of ſhips, who likewiſe are in trade; but the amount of all is very inconſiderable. The twenty miles I travelled to this place is through a country containing very little waſte land: there is much corn land in it, and plenty of good paſture, with numerous herds of cattle; yet the inhabitants complain bitterly of the murrain, which has ruined many farmers here. I remarked ſeveral farms in this diſtrict, which appeared to be in as good order as moſt I had ſeen in England, and managed in a manner that made them much reſemble thoſe of England, and particularly in the encloſures: the fields were divided by hedges, kept in excellent order, and ſecured by deep and well made ditches; there were borders of graſs around them, and the corn, turnips, and ſtubble, all ſhewed a huſbandry ſuperior to the common run of the North. Another circumſtance alſo was, the tillage being performed with only four oxen; whereas I have ſeen many ploughs here drawn by ſix or eight, or by ſix Holſtein

horſes: the peaſants in all Denmark are very cautious of working any more ploughs than they can poſſibly help, as they pay a tax for every one; this appears to be as great an inſtance of impolicy in the government as ever I met with in any country; there is not, in the circle of political œconomy, any object more important than that of the proper method of impoſing taxes: ſuppoſing it was right, that the huſbandry of a country ſhould be ſaddled with a great proportion of them, yet is it of vaſt importance to lay them on in ſuch a manner that they ſhall not occaſion evils greater than their benefits, and be loſſes inſtead of gains to a government. Every ſhilling that is laid upon ploughs, weavers ſhuttles, or merchants ſhips, robs the ſtate of pounds.

Advancing with ſome expedition I got to Ringſkopping, ſeven and twenty miles from Warde, through a country part of which is pretty well cultivated; but it contains much waſte. That town is a port, which, by means of a long peninſula running before it, is very ſecure from all winds; they have a little trade here. I ſaw three or four ſhips in the harbour, which had been in the Baltick, and at England: I find there are many ſhips kept in theſe little ports, in Den-

Denmark, which are chiefly maintained by carrying deals to London, and other parts of England, principally from Norway; and at theſe little towns they are generally the property of the captain, at leaſt he has a principal ſhare in them. There is nothing worthy of note in Ringſkopping, and the inn I took up at was a miſerable one, but the people were civil.

The 29th in the morning I paſſed on towards Hodſedbrugh, the diſtance is twenty three miles; part of the country is mountainous, and has the appearance of a black moor; but the flat parts are pretty well cultivated. I paſſed through two noblemens eſtates, whoſe caſtles were within ſight; and I found, on enquiry, that they were all cultivators of their own lands, by means of the peaſants, who are generally in a ſtate of villainage. I had the accident of my chaiſe breaking down on a ſtoney piece of road, near one of theſe caſtles, which would have been an unlucky circumſtance, for ſmiths and wheel-wrights are wonderfully ſcarce but in the larger villages; fortunately, however, the owner of the caſtle, Count Roncellen, as they called him, was on horſeback, in ſight of my diſtreſs: he rode up to us, and viewing the accident,

ſpoke to me in Daniſh and German, but my poſtillion replying to him he addreſſed me in French, upon finding that I did not underſtand thoſe languages. He enquired very politely from whence I came, and where I was going? I told him my buſineſs was a journey of curioſity, to view the different kingdoms of the North; that I was an Engliſhman, and came laſt from Hamburgh. He then, in a very eaſy and agreeable manner, deſired me to walk up to his chateau, and he would take care to ſend a ſmith, and other people, to repair my carriage for me. This adventure pleaſed me much, not only for its extricating me out ſuch a difficulty, but alſo for giving me an opportunity to make enquiries into thoſe circumſtances of the country, in which I was deſirous of gaining information. Accepting, therefore, his invitation, we moved towards the caſtle, and the Count alighting from his horſe, walked with me, leading him.

He made ſeveral enquiries into the motives of my journey. This, ſays he, is but a wild neglected country, containing very little to be ſeen, and ſcarcely ever viſited by travellers; no body, I believe, comes into Denmark, ſaid he, but ſuch as go directly

to

to Copenhagen; and we, being out of that route, are ſcarcely ever viſited by travellers. I replied, that I had, many years ago, travelled through France, Italy, and the beſt part of Germany; but upon my return to England, I found I had been the tour that every body elſe goes, and which has been deſcribed a thouſand times; that I had a great curioſity to ſee the Northern parts of Europe, which are ſeldom viſited by travellers of my country; and upon my return from Italy, I determined, whenever I could eaſily command the time, to examine them attentively; that I had this year carried it into execution, having paſſed through Holland, Flanders, Weſtphalia, Hanover, and was now on the tour of Denmark. The Count replied, that I might meet with entertainment in Holland and Flanders, but as to Weſtphalia, the Electorate of Hanover, and Holſtein and Sleſwick, they could afford very little enterment to a man who had travelled in France and Italy, and who had reſided in England. In anſwer, I ſaid that I did not come into the North to ſee pictures and ſtatues, or to hear operas, but to obſerve the manners of the people, the ſtate of agriculture, the nature of manufactures, and the general appear-

ance of the country. Oh! Oh! ſaid he, you travel then philoſophically; I ran through England, France, Italy, and all Germany, but, unfortunately, not with the views that you now make the objects of your journey.

This converſation held us till we got to the caſtle; the Count carried me through ſeveral large rooms, to one in which the breakfaſt equipage was ſpread; preſently, a lady of middle age appeared, and alſo a young gentleman; the Count introduced me to them; the one was his ſiſter, and the other his nephew, a young Lord, who was juſt going upon a journey of pleaſure to England, being related to the Baron de Furſtentein, Ambaſſador extraordinary from Denmark at the court of London. They both received me very politely, and entered into converſation in French upon my travels. Breakfaſt was preſently ſerved up, it conſiſted only of coffee, milk, and a baſon of water gruel for the Count, which ſeemed to be his regular diet. The young nobleman, whoſe name was Baron de Raden, made many enquiries concerning England, all which I replied to as well as I was able: I found he intended making a reſidence there long enough to gain the language. The Count aſked me ſeveral particulars of my ideas

ideas concerning Denmark: he ſaid I muſt ſee a great difference in the country, in the population, and the induſtry of the inhabitants, between England and their country. I obſerved, that our peaſants in England were in much happier circumſtances, and which muſt neceſſarily occaſion a greater populouſneſs; and that the cuſtom in England, of letting the lands in farms, was the reaſon that our agriculture made a ſo much better figure than in Denmark. That, replied the Count, is very true, but we have the advantage of you in other circumſtances; our nobility and gentry of large fortunes cultivate their own eſtates, though of great extent; and certainly this makes the ſoil yield a greater produce than if it was under the management of a parcel of miſerable peaſants. True, Sir, replied I, but our ſoil is not managed by miſerable peaſants, but by rich farmers, many of them men of conſiderable ſubſtance and independance; if they were all as poor as the peaſants of Denmark, I ſhould agree with you at once.

The Count then obſerved to me, that I was in an error, in ſuppoſing that they had no farmers in Denmark; we do not call them ſo, continued he, but boors and peaſants indiſcriminately, whether they hire

lands of us, or whether they are in a ſtate of villainage; and to convince you of this, I will, before dinner, ſhew you ſome farms that I have let almoſt in the Engliſh manner; and I will, at the ſame time, have the pleaſure of ſhewing you a little manufactory, which I have eſtabliſhed on my eſtate, for the employment of the poor. A ſervant ſoon after came in, to let me know that my chaiſe was repaired, and ready to proceed. I made a motion to take my leave; but the Count, in a moſt obliging manner, aſſured me that I ſhould ſpend the day with him; and not hearing any excuſes, ordered the horſes to be taken off, and put into his ſtables, and the ſervant and poſtillion to be taken care of. I thanked him for his civility, but he ſaid the pleaſure would be all his own. He then ordered horſes to be got ready for us, that he might ſhew me ſome of his undertakings.

As we rode along he expreſſed himſelf in general as follows; the trade and manufactures, Sir, that have been ſpread through moſt parts of Europe, have leſſened every where the value of money; this we have found in Denmark, though perhaps not in ſuch a degree as you have in England; the conſequence has been, that the nobility, who

live upon the ſtated income of their eſtates, find themſelves every day poorer and poorer: this is occaſioned by the products of their lands not ſelling at a price proportioned to the rates of thoſe commodities they chiefly buy: this, I apprehend, is not the caſe with you, as I hear, and indeed ſee, by ſome of your news-papers, that there are many complaints among you, on account of the high prices of the neceſſaries of life; this proves to me, that the value of the eſtates in England muſt be greatly raiſed, which then throws your nobility upon a par with thoſe whoſe incomes vary with the variations of money: this, I ſuppoſe, is owing to the great number of manufactures among you, which occaſions an increaſe of population, and that brings with it an increaſe of the value of all the articles conſumed by manufacturers. Now it is, in this particular, that Denmark is unfortunate: it is true, our gracious King is really the father of his people, and has formed more eſtabliſhments in favour of the arts and commerce than half the monarchs of Europe: he has fixed manufactures of ſeveral ſorts in various parts of his dominions, but theſe are too inconſiderable yet to have a general effect: they are, however,

however, of great utility to their reſpective neighbourhoods; and it is the obſervation of this that has induced me to attend to the beſt methods of improving an extenſive property around this caſtle, which yielded, when I came to it, but an inconſiderable income.

From what I have obſerved, continued the Count, in England, France, and Holland, the value of land, that is the income of it, depends exactly on the neighbourhood of manufactures; for land no where lets ſo well as cloſe to great cities. What we want in Denmark is a market; we have had ſeveral edicts in favour of agriculture, but giving us a market for our products would be better than a thouſand edicts: with theſe ideas it is that I have been ſo ſolicitous to increaſe the number of people on my eſtate, and to add to their conſumption, being under the conviction, that if I can fix an induſtrious colony of manufacturers on it, I ſhall of courſe improve the agriculture of it.

Here I obſerved to him, that agriculture, if left to itſelf, would not thus be ſufficiently improved.

I comprehend you, replied the Count; old cuſtoms will continue among the peaſants,

ſans, however abſurd they may be; but I did not mean that I had left them to themſelves entirely, only that the providing a market was the firſt object, as all other means or changes in the common practice would, without that, do nothing: for of what conſequence is it that you teach your people to be excellent huſbandmen, if they do not find it eaſy to get money for their good crops? I can further have the ſatisfaction of telling you, that I find from experience that theſe ideas are juſt; for ſince I fully entered into the ſpirit of this conduct, I have ſeen the truth of it exemplified on my own eſtate; for ſince I have fixed ſome manufacturers here, and built a village for them, the products which the farmers have raiſed have found a much better market, and paid them better for their trouble than ever was known before.

We had arrived by this time on the confines of a little town, which made a very agreeable figure, upon the ſide of a hill, in a fruitful ſpot, with a river at the bottom of the declivity.

Here, ſaid the Count, is a little town, every houſe of which I have built myſelf, and filled them with manufacturers. We entered it; he ſhewed me the fabrics which he

he had eſtabliſhed; they were chiefly of wool: there were great numbers of ſpinners, combers, and weavers; they made coarſe cloth, worn by the poor people of all this country. The manager of the works was an Engliſhman from Eſſex, who, I ſuppoſe, the Count had brought with him when he was upon his tour through England. I am no judge of theſe ſort of works, but the people, native Danes, as well as the Engliſhmen, carry on their work with quickneſs and intelligence. The Count informed me that he had four hundred hands employed upon woollen goods alone; that he wrought up all the ſorts of cloathing, which found a ready market in this country, that is, ſuch as all the country men and women wore. I aſked him how he ſucceeded as to profit? He replied, very indifferently, if I ſpeak as a manufacturer; for had I been a mere maſter of it, I ſhould have been ruined. What this is owing to I know not; but I ſuppoſe, to my not being able to give that attention to the buſineſs which a man would do who is to make his bread by it. However, Sir, continued he, I make all I wiſh for by it; I pay my expences, and there is enough left to anſwer all the demands which are made on me, on account of

of the buildings I have erected; ſo that I am a clear gainer of the number of people I have fixed on my eſtate; and I dare ſay you comprehend my meaning ſufficiently to ſee, that this was the only profit I wiſhed to reap.

The Count ſhewed me another manufactory, which was that of leather; he had erected ſeveral tanneries, which prepared the hides for manufacturing into doublets, breeches, boots, ſtockings, and ſhoes; of theſe various artiſts, he has to the number of near three hundred; and the products of their labour find, like thoſe of his woollen manufacture, a free and quick ſale in the neighbouring country. M. le Count informed me, that this manufacture was more profitable to him than that of woollen goods. The next fabric he ſhewed me, was that of turners ware. He had laid in large ſtocks of beech wood, elm, horn-beam, holly, and ſeveral other ſorts; and fixed many artiſts in this way to turn diſhes, plates, platters, cups, ſaucers, bowls, ſcoops, and various other articles, which are in common uſe among the people in all the adjacent towns and villages; of theſe artiſts, he reckons one hundred and twenty perſons

perſons employed in preparing and working up the raw materials.

He has alſo a ſmall linen manufactory, which employs above forty hands, and of which the ſucceſs is ſo advantageous, that it increaſes every day: they work up only coarſe cloths for ſheets, ſhirts, and other purpoſes, among the lower ranks of people.

But none of his works ſeemed to pleaſe this moſt patriotic nobleman equal to his manufacturies of iron; of theſe he worked all ſorts of implements in common uſe, whether for the furniture of houſes, or domeſtic utenſils; the machines for artiſts, ſuch as wheelwrights, carpenters, blackſmiths; the implements of huſbandry, ſuch as ploughs, harrows, rollers, carts, waggons, ſpades, ſhovels, forks, rakes, axes, &c. all theſe he worked in great numbers, and found a ready vent for them. Theſe fabrics employed above two hundred men.

All theſe undertakings employ above a thouſand hands, and the ſucceſs of them has proved ſo great, as to fix above two thouſand inhabitants in the town he has built for them. It conſiſts of about three hundred houſes, all of which the Count either built at his own expence, or advanced part of the

money towards them, or granted certain privileges to thoſe who made him propoſals of building. The ſtreets are laid out very regularly, interſecting each other at right angles; in the center is a large market-place, and in the midſt of it, a ſmall but neat church; all the town is well paved; the houſes are ſmall, but all raiſed with brick, and covered with tiles, and make a very regular and agreeable appearance.

The bricks and tiles are all burnt in kilns adjoining the town, belonging to the Count, and the timber is cut in his foreſts; ſo that the expences were very ſmall, compared to what they would have been in different circumſtances; but notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the Count aſſured me, that in three and twenty years, ſince he began theſe works, he has expended in them the ſum of above thirty three thouſand ducats, which make near ſixteen thouſand pounds. This account includes the church, the paving the town, and the erecting the works and buildings for the ſeveral manfactures above mentioned, beſides the houſes and ſhares of houſes: excluſive of this expence, he has been employed three years in erecting a handſome bridge over the river, a wharf on the banks of it, with warehouſes for

for merchandize, and dry and wet docks for building barges, and decked ſloops on the river: the tide flows up to the town, though at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea; and the Count, among his noble plans, has ſchemed the fixing a trade at it. This town is ſituated between Palliſberg and Wingaard: the river falls into the gulph that Ringſkopping ſtands on, but he is at preſent employed in cutting a canal, about two miles long, to gain a better navigation into a bay to the northward, near Wofborg. By this means, he hopes to be able to navigate brigs of one hundred tons; whereas he has at preſent only five ſloops, each of fifty tons. Theſe he employs all himſelf in bringing materials for his manufactures from the Baltick, England, and Holland. His bridge, wharf, docks, and warehouſes, he calculates will coſt him ſixteen thouſand ducats, and his navigation above three thouſand.

I do not remember ever receiving ſo much real pleaſure, as from viewing theſe great and noble exertions of princely magnificence, which infinitely exceed all the coſtly ornaments which, in ſome countries, are given to the ſeats of the great. They reflect immortal honour on the worthy Count,

Count, who has the ſpirit thus to proſecute the nobleſt works which Europe can exhibit. Other noblemen in Denmark have fortunes equal to this illuſtrious Count; in England we have fortunes double and treble to his; but where are we to find an expenditure of a great eſtate, that reflects equal luſtre on the owner? I muſt confeſs, I never yet met with an example comparable to this, nor can I poſſibly dwell on it in the manner it moſt richly deſerves.

It was the employment of the day for the Count to carry me through all the manufactures, and the different parts of the town; he returned to the caſtle to a late dinner. I mentioned taking my leave of him; but, with great politeneſs, and in the moſt obliging manner, he deſired me to defer my journey, ſaying he had ſhewn me only his manufactures, but he had the effects of them on agriculture yet to let me ſee. At dinner, and in the evening, we had abundance of converſation concerning the objects I had ſeen in the day; and particularly on the means, by which the Count had been able to effect the eſtabliſhment of the manufactures I had ſeen.

The beginning of all my undertakings, ſaid that illuſtrious nobleman, I found

ever the moſt difficult. In eſtabliſhing the woollen fabrick, I had infinite difficulties at firſt, in opening a regular channel by which to receive the wool, for our own was ſo bad, that I could uſe ſcarce any of it; and then to get people uſed to the different works, from picking and ſorting for the ſpinners quite to the weavers, who finiſhed the working of it. Moſt of the people I procured from Germany and Flanders; but a few, who proved more uſeful to me than all the reſt, from Scotland, and two or three from England. To all theſe people I have been forced to give great ſalaries, to build them fine houſes, and to put up with many irregularities; but I was indefatigable in making my own people learn of them what they could perform; and the beſt way of doing this, I found was to give a premium to the foreigners for every hand they perfected in every branch of work. Several of theſe people are dead, and I have not taken any pains to recruit their number; for my Danes are now, many of them, as expert as their maſters. I have, however, very often ſtraggling parties of Germans, who come to aſk work, which I never fail giving them and building houſes immediately for

for them, if they continue in the mind of ſettling. This has in general been my conduct with every one of the fabrics except one, which has hitherto been entirely conducted and worked by native Danes; but I meditate attempting ſome new manufactures, for which I muſt have recourſe to other countries for a few hands to inſtruct us. From the beginning of the undertaking, I found the neceſſity of uniting the characters of merchant and manufacturer; for had it not been for the poſſeſſion of a little ſhipping, which ſupplied me with whatever materials were wanting, I ſhould never have been able to bring my works to the height at which they are now arrived. My ſloops are ſtrong and well built, and run, without difficulty, wherever I ſend them, to the Baltic, to England, Scotland, Holland, France, and even to the Mediterranean; with the advantage of coming up into the heart of my town. I once had a brig of two hundred tons, but I found too much inconvenience and expence in ſending ſuch a veſſel for a cargo of not more than forty or fifty tons, unleſs I turned trader, and loſt by the buſineſs; beſides her being forced to lye in the gulph, inſtead of coming up to the town, ſo that I

ſold her in Holland, and have found my ſloops far more convenient and profitable, as with them I can always take a full cargo of whatever they are ſent for. I have a Dutch ſhip-carpenter, who builds them for me, and he has ſix Danes under him, two of whom have worked in the King's yard at Copenhagen. This eſtabliſhment is not more than three years old, but I purpoſe to keep it regular, and even to increaſe it: they have built me five ſloops, each of fifty tons, which have performed their buſineſs exceedingly well, and are excellent ſailors. You ſaw two more on the ſtocks, both which are herring buſſes, built exactly on the ſame plan as thoſe in Holland; with them I purpoſe attempting the herring fiſhery; for I have obſerved in my travels, and you certainly muſt have remarked the ſame thing, that nothing ſpreads more induſtry, or maintains ſo many people as fiſheries; and at the ſame time, the Danes make excellent ones; and I have no doubt of ſucceeding, as I have, though at a great expence, got three Dutch fiſhermen, uſed to their art of barrelling; if I meet with ſucceſs, I ſhall increaſe the buſſes; and when the canal I ſhewed you is finiſhed, I ſhall build ſome larger ſloops, and a brig

or

or two of an hundred tons, for carrying the product of the fiſhery up the Streights; from whence I hope to return home loaded with ſalt, which, by that time, I ſhall have fixed a market for.

My great object is to make every part of my general plan unite to form one whole, by rendering each diviſion of it the ſupport of another: At firſt, I was forced to ſend out my ſloops, wherever they went, empty; but as my manufactures have increaſed, I have ſent out ſome loads of them, which have obtained a very good market; I have loaded others with corn, having a perpetual licence from the King for that purpoſe; if my fiſhery proceeds, I ſhall never be obliged to go out empty, which is a very eſſential object.

All theſe works I find have a wonderful efficacy in increaſing the people on my eſtate. I before told you, that the town has above two thouſand inhabitants in it, though not a hut was ſtanding there three and twenty years ago; my buildings increaſe conſiderably every year; I have a great number of brick and lime burners, maſons, ſmiths, and carpenters, that do nothing elſe but build houſes for the new comers. This work regulates all the reſt, for it is the firſt I pro-

vide caſh for, being the great object of all the reſt; and what ſum is ſpared from this, I expend upon the other works. I raiſed five and thirty houſes laſt year, and the number this year will be near forty. From the applications I have received, I apprehend, I ſhall next year build more than ſixty; but the expence will be ſo large, that I ſhall be forced to retard my other undertakings. You ſhall to-morrow ſee the effect, which this population has had upon my huſbandry.

We paſſed the evening in converſation of this ſort, in which the young Baron joined occaſionally, and ſhewed, that he had a proper idea of the great works which his uncle was carrying on. The Count ſhewed me a map of his eſtate, as it was when his father left it him. The extent is nine Engliſh miles one way, and more than four another; but ſomewhat indented. It is a fine variegated country of hill and dale, with ſome mountains, well watered with rivers, ſtreams, and lakes; and part of it nobly ſpread with exceeding fine timber. This was the deſcription he gave me of it on explaining the map.

In the morning early, horſes were ready for us, and the Count, riding ſome miles from

from his caſtle, came into a track of cultivated country, all his own, at the extremity of his eſtate, oppoſite to the part on which the town is built. Here we rode through many valleys, and ſides of hills, all cultivated, with great numbers of farm houſes and cottages, the inhabitants of which ſeemed as eaſy, chearful, and happy, as if they had been reſident in England inſtead of Denmark; they all appeared to be pleaſed with the preſence of their lord, and I have no doubt but they eſteem him as their father, as well as maſter. This part of my eſtate, ſaid the Count, addreſſing himſelf to me, was cultivated of old, and it is all that was ſo; I found it farmed by my father's bailiffs and villains, and the appearance it made was very uninviting, and the people extremely miſerable; I arranged it a-new, formed moſt of the incloſures you ſee, built moſt of theſe houſes; and to all the people that were induſtrious and ſaving, I lett farms according to their ability of living and ſtocking; and I found very ſoon that this way of managing the land, brought me in a better revenue than the cultivating it on my own account; for the bailiffs I truſted, generally turned out great raſcals, and cheated me, at the ſame time that they in-

finitely oppreſſed the peaſants. In my travels through England, I had fixed the deſign of letting farms, from the great ſucceſs I ſaw attending it there; I liked the plan every day better and better, and by giving encouragements to ſuch as tilled their land well, and kept their farms in good order, and by ſhewing no favour to idle perſons and ſlovens, I brought them to be wonderfully attentive, ſo that at preſent I do not think you have many eſtates in Scotland, or Ireland, better cultivated than this part of mine, and ſome not better in England. I ſhould, however, tell you that I did not leave them to the cuſtoms of their own country entirely, but procured workmen and implements from Flanders, to inſtruct them in the practice of methods, to which they were unaccuſtomed. This I did not find ſo difficult a buſineſs as might be expected; for very luckily, the people I procured were ſenſible and intelligent, and pointed out with great propriety the courſes of management moſt proper for the lands; our ſoil they thought not good enough for the Flemiſh crops of coleſeed, madder, &c. but ought rather to be applied to the productions of wheat, barley, oats, peaſe, beans, turnips, clover, &c. I was entirely of

of the ſame opinion, and rewarded them for their advice, ſending them home, after they had fully inſtructed my Danes in the uſe of their implements; we have ſtuck very cloſely to theſe ever ſince, except the introduction of ſome others from England, which have likewiſe been well approved by them. I have given premiums for the beſt ploughmen; others, more conſiderable, for the beſt crops of all ſorts; and have been very attentive to ſpread among them the culture of turnips and clover, as the moſt advantageous means of wintering their herds of cattle.

The attention of this ſort, which I have given to their management, has been attended with great effects, for though I have been all over Denmark more than once, I know ſcarcely any ſpot ſo well cultivated as this; and you will readily allow, that I have found the work profitable, when I tell you that great tracks of this improved land yield me a rent of a ducat and half for an Engliſh acre; and ſome of it two ducats, (which is from fourteen to eighteen ſhillings) but it has not been ſo high rented many years; it hath been ſo only ſince the increaſe of my town has been conſiderable, which, by providing them the market they ſo much wanted,

ed, has enriched them all, and is a ſtrong proof of the juſtneſs of the principles upon which I firſt undertook all my works.

You obſerve, continued the Count, that there are waſte tracks on yonder hills, which join the incloſures; they are very extenſive, ſpreading for ſome miles; but the incloſures increaſe every year, and in great numbers: the way I manage is this, I allow the farmers the expence of incloſing whatever they like to take contiguous to their farms, provided they never have more land than they keep well cultivated, and I take no rent for ſuch fields during the firſt five years; after that they pay me for them about half the value, which continues as long as the improver lives, but on his death, I raiſe it to the full value. Theſe terms they think ſo reaſonable, that there is not a peaſant among them, but what makes a ſmall addition every year; and others, who get or ſave money, have freſh farms compleat on the ſame terms, except paying me further the intereſt of the money I expend in buildings for them. I am very attentive to theſe new tracks of cultivated land, to ſee that they do not neglect them; for I never ſuffer an incloſure to continue uncultivated. I have attended to the expences, and the produce

produce of theſe improvements, and it is not eaſy to be conceived what advantage I find in them. The greateſt expences, thoſe of the buildings, I at once enter upon intereſt for, and the rents, in five years after the firſt beginnings, yield me an ample return for the expences of the incloſure, ſo that I find no way of laying out money more beneficial than this. Theſe cultivated tracks are ſeven miles from the town, which I erected at a diſtance, not only for the convenience of a port, (which originally did not ſtrike me as a matter of the greateſt importance) but chiefly on account of the great extent of waſte land at that extremity of my eſtate. I built the town with a view to force improvements there; but the increaſe of inhabitants has made it a market of ſuch conſequence, that theſe farmers all reſort to it, and carry thither their products; and I find, from very minute enquiries, that they never raiſe any commodity which does not then bring them a ready price. While this is the caſe, I am perfectly ſatisfied with my ſucceſs, for it was the grand object I had in view from the beginning; and nothing can hardly prevent the improvements of the waſtes I poſſeſs, while this continues the caſe; nor have I much

much fear of it, for the town increaſes ſo much that its demand will, on courſe, occaſion an improvement of ſuch waſte lands.

Another circumſtance, obſerved the Count, is the nature of the ſoils around this cultivated part of my eſtate. I made it a rule ſome years ago, that every peaſant, who wiſhed to encreaſe his farm, ſhould take the waſte that was contiguous to him, without any regard to the goodneſs or the badneſs of the ſoil. This occaſioned me ſome difficulty at firſt, for ſome of them came to portions of hilly land that was very ſtony, and of a moſt unprofitable countenance; and others to boggy places, which would, through wetneſs, admit of no ſort of uſe. Such of them made repreſentations to me upon this head, aſſerting that they were deſirous of increaſing their farms, but the lands that joined them were ſo very ſterrile and unprofitable, that they could not venture on them, requeſting me to allow them to paſs by ſuch deſert ſpots, and take in more promiſing ones. Theſe petitions I made it a rule never to grant, as I was very ſenſible, that if I once gave into the idea of the real unprofitableneſs of theſe ſpots, they would never meet with any culture, and conſequently remain barren to eternity: I

therefore

therefore replied to them, that ſuch pieces of land, as they mentioned, were by no means ſterile, if once they were attempted with becoming ſpirit; that I ſhould look with a very favourable eye on all ſuch as tried the culture of them with true induſtry and perſeverance; that as an encouragement to them, I would, on the dry lands, be at half the expence of removing the ſtones; and on the bogs, I would be at half the expence of draining, and, at the ſame time, find them an engineer gratis, to mark out their cuts, and overſee the execution of them; but that I would on no account have one acre of waſte paſſed by.

This conduct, Sir, continued this excellent nobleman, had its effect; they made no more complaints of bad ſoils, but attacked all they met with, and have been every where victorious; when ſome of them got into the bogs, the draining of half of which was even too much for their ability, I took care that the works ſhould not ſtop, but advanced money to them to enable them to overcome all difficulties; and ſuch has been my ſucceſs, that ſeveral tracks of rich meadow, now within our ſight in yonder valley, worth two ducats an Engliſh acre, were a bog that yielded no ſort of advantage

tage to any one; and the peaſants themſelves allow, that no land they meet with anſwers ſo well as the boggy tracts, eſpecially for meadows; and I find by various trials which they have made, as well as by others executed more immediately under my own direction, in another part of my eſtate, that no ſoils are found in our waſtes but what will pay extremely well for improving. By adhering ſtrictly to the conduct I mentioned to you, ſeveral of theſe people have improved ſome pieces which you would have pronounced irreclamable, but which are now covered with very fine crops of corn and graſs.

During the time that this moſt intereſting converſation laſted, the Count carried me through ſeveral of their farms. I am no connoiſſeur in huſbandry, but from the obſervation which I have made in England and in Flanders, which are, I think, gardens compared with other countries, moſt of theſe farms appear to be under an excellent management. The articles which the Count pointed out particularly, were a freedom from weeds, neat fences, large dunghills, and plenty of winter food for cattle. In all theſe circumſtances, theſe farms are in high order; the lands in general very clean, thoſe preparing

preparing for wheat particularly ſo, the corn crops the ſame. The fences are chiefly of hornbeam and holly, and interlaced ſo ſtrongly as to be impenetrable, with deep and well cut ditches to them every where. As to dunghills, I never ſaw any track of country where the huſbandmen ſeemed more attentive to them. The men from Flanders taught them the importance of compoſt heaps, by which are meant mixtures of various ſorts of manures; they form them chiefly of earth, dung, and litter, burnt clay, and peat aſhes; the latter the Count inſtructed them in from hints he had in England, which ſurpriſed me, as I do not remember to have ſeen any thing of that ſort in any of our countries; it is a fine, ſoft, moory ſort of bog burnt: What uſe the burnt clay can be of I know not, but they ſay they find the advantage of it. Theſe compoſts they keep two years before they uſe them, turning them over ſeveral times, and uſually ſpread them either for turnips or clover, generally the latter. In reſpect to winter food for cattle, they cultivate much clover and natural graſs, mowing both for hay; and alſo many fields of turnips, generally the ſort that has cabbage leaves. Theſe are ſecure from damage by froſts; and with their hay and

and ſtraw enable them to winter-keep great ſtocks of cattle. In general, the farmers of the country did not make ſuch advantage by cattle as they ought, for want of a market for ſuch as they fat, or for the butter and cheeſe of the dairies; but the Count's new town has brought an entire remedy for this evil to all his tenants, as the inhabitants of it form a ready market for all ſuch proviſions, which proves a very great advantage to the peaſants. Formerly their cattle was all ſold lean to the Dutch drovers.

The viewing all theſe circumſtances conſumed the day, and the hoſpitable Count inſiſted on my making a further ſtay with him, ſaying, that I had not yet ſeen his own farm, which he reſerved for the next day; and I muſt own, I never paſſed any time with greater ſatisfaction; for this very patriotic nobleman appeared rather a being of romance, a viſion of perfection, than a real inſtance of ſo many public and private virtues; but I conſidered myſelf as peculiarly fortunate in meeting with an object, that much more than recompenced me for all the trouble and expence I had beſtowed on my travels, had I ſeen nothing elſe.

The next morning he conducted me a different way, taking a rounding courſe towards

wards the town, at the diſtance of three miles from the caſtle; the principal part of the way was through a territory extremely well cultivated, ſome of it was lett in farms to the peaſants, but we ſoon came into his own farm, which is of a vaſt extent, and ſpreads itſelf almoſt around the town. From the riſing grounds in this part, I could ſee no waſte land, but all the diſtant views, for two or three miles every way, were all under culture.

This part of my eſtate, ſaid the Count, was once reckoned the very worſt of it all, and not an acre in cultivation; this, I believe, I told you was one inducement for placing the town here. Nobody would even hire farms here, ſo bad an opinion had they of the ſoil; but by building the town upon it, I gave it a double value; firſt, the convenience of vicinity to a market; and ſecondly, the caſe of procuring manure; ſtill, however, it continued in general waſte for ſeveral years, except a few bogs near the town, which they drained and improved for the more convenience of keeping their horſes, and a few cows. Finding this backwardneſs of the peaſants, I undertook the work myſelf, knowing, that in caſe I ſucceeded, of which I had very little doubt, they

would be ready enough to take farms after they were improved. The ſoil was in general thrown into broad extending flats, which were all either marſh or bog; and the riſing grounds of conſiderable extent alſo, and hills, were all ſand, ſome of it red, and ſome a black ſand; none of the ſpontaneous growth at all promiſing.

My firſt buſineſs was to fix upon a ſpot in the center of very large track of theſe lands, where I built a houſe for a bailiff, and put into it one I had procured from Flanders. This was not a wiſe choice, for the man was much too full of a rich ſoil he had been uſed to, and had not patience ſufficient with this poor one; but then I found him a treaſury in docility, and one on whom I could ever depend for a punctual obedience of my orders; qualities which I have ſince found to be much better in ſuch a manager than knowledge. I raiſed ſome large barns, many houſes for cattle, granaries, ſtore rooms, and all conveniencies for a very large farm, which I had any where ſeen in my travels. While theſe edifices were erecting, I made a ſound and firm road directly from them to the town; this was a work of much expence in the bogs, but I knew it to be indiſpenſable. The buildings

buildings I had raiſed in the center of a ſmall riſing ground, which were in the middle of a very extenſive flat of marſh and bog. There, ſaid he, you ſee it extends a great diſtance. The ſandy track in the middle was about a mile over every way, and lying neareſt to the buildings, I improved it firſt. On my beginning this work, I turned over all the writers on huſbandry in my poſſeſſion, to ſee what were their directions for the improvement of a poor, ſandy ſoil. I found nothing ſatisfactory; but they recommended marl, which totally depended on the circumſtance of having it; nor did they give any directions how to judge if marl was likely to be found. The huſbandry of marling light land I had ſeen myſelf in your country, in the province of Norfolk, but as well as I remembered, the marl was ſo near the ſurface as to be diſcovered in every ditch; however, as the object was important, I bored in ſeveral places for marl, but found nothing but ſand, and under it, at a vaſt depth, flint, and then clay. I was therefore obliged to improve this land without any marl. I formed the whole hill into incloſures, and my bailiff tilled, manured, and ſowed the fields with various crops, which he had ſeen put into ſandy grounds

in Flanders; moſt of theſe were very poor and loſing products except three, buck wheat, carrots, and potatoes. Buck wheat my bailiff deſpiſed, but we know it in Denmark to be a very valuable crop; and as to the roots, they did not content him; he was for trying to force this ſand, by means of manure brought from the town, to produce every thing he had ſeen in Flanders. This raſhneſs I checked, and directed him to extend the above three crops to a large amount; he did ſo, and ſucceeded well in the ſame. The buck wheat was of great uſe, both as corn and ſtraw for the cattle; and the roots were part of them ſold to my manufacturers, at a great profit, and the reſt conſumed by all ſorts of cattle. The trials were again repeated on a yet larger ſcale, and the ſucceſs the ſame; and on the fifth year from the beginning, the whole ſpace of ſand about the buildings was under theſe three crops in ſucceſſion, ſo as every year to be covered with one or other of them: And they were raiſed with ſuch ſucceſs, as enabled us to winter ſuch vaſt heads of cattle, that the Flanderkin allowed we could never have more profitably applied the land.

But while this buſineſs was going on, the flats demanded attention, for the ſucceſs of the

the winter roots ſhewed, that we ſhould want meadow for ſummer food, and all my cattle had at firſt was what they picked up on the edges of the marſhes. Nothing therefore could be a more important object than to drain and improve theſe marſhes and bogs, which would enable me to keep as many cattle in ſummer as the ſand yielded food for in winter; keeping cattle I found very profitable, for my town was a conſtant market for whatever quantities of butter, milk, and cheeſe, could be carried to it, and alſo for every kind of fat meat that was killed. The method I took with my cows was to lett them to peaſants, in dairies of ten each, for which they gave me an annual rent per cow; and I found them in conſtant food, winter and ſummer. I proſecuted the work of draining with unremitted diligence, employing great numbers of hands, and doing the work effectually as I went; and they were thrown, as ſoon as drained, into a courſe of arable huſbandry, to prepare for graſs; and my Flanders bailiff put me upon one crop for them which proved far more beneficial than any, which was cabbages; the drained bogs anſwered greatly in them. But as graſs was the object, they were all laid down to meadow as

ſoon as in order; and this regular work of draining and improving them I have carried on ever ſince, having done all this extent of flat that you ſee, and am, at preſent, going on expeditiouſly with other tracks out of ſight, nor ſhall I ſtop while I have a marſh or a bog left. The improvement of the ſands went on at the ſame time, with no other variation than throwing into the courſe of management of carrots, buck wheat, and potatoes, that of rye, which is my bailiff's addition, in order to be maſter of the more ſtraw. But in proſecuting the improvement of the hills, I made a diſcovery which proved of vaſt conſequence, as the incloſures multiplied, for we came to a riſing ground that had never been bored for marl, and upon boring in it, we diſcovered a vaſt ſtratum of ſhells, almoſt powdered. I had no doubt of ſuch an animal ſubſtance proving a good manure, and accordingly tried them over a large field of poor ſand; the fertility it produced was amazing; it was ſo great that the crops of buck wheat, carrots, and potatoes, were doubled, and even trebled. This was ſuch an acquiſition, that I immediately ſpread theſe powdered ſhells over all the lands within reach, which amounted to more than ſeven hundred of your

your Engliſh acres, and theſe have ſince been the moſt fertile fields of my eſtate.

This improvement has had a great effect; inſtead of rye, my bailiff introduces clover on them, and ſows wheat after it, which adds greatly to the profit; and the ſhells have proved ſo good a manure, that theſe ſands produce now more wheat than they did before of rye. The tracks of land kept in my own farm of graſs and arable, amount to above three thouſand of your acres; and from the neighbourhood of the town, which for ſeveral years has increaſed very quickly, the products are carried to ſo good a market, that my revenue from this farm alone is, clear of all expences, not leſs on an average than ſix thouſand ducats a year, which is much more than I could make of it if it was lett. However, as that track is as much as I can keep in regular order, and without any loſs from confuſion, I lett the neighbouring ones as they are improved, and buildings raiſed, to peaſants who hire ſmall farms of from forty to two hundred acres each, paying me a very good rent for the land.

The increaſe of the town, and that of the improvements, anſwer to each other extremely well, but the latter goes on rather with the greater celerity; but to keep up

the market price, and never ſuffer proviſions to be too cheap, which, I think, for many reaſons, is eſſential to the welfare of all ſuch undertakings as theſe, I export in ſloops corn, cheeſe, butter, ſalted beef, &c. &c. to Holland, whenever the rates of my market are lower than I think they ought to be; I do not get ſo good a price for ſuch goods as I ſhould if they were all conſumed at home, but they yield enough to make it anſwer well on the principles upon which I do it.

In all the improvements which I have made on my lands, by letting them to the peaſants, I have adhered ſtrictly to the rule of proceeding on the very contrary conduct which is common among nine tenths of the nobility of the kingdom. They keep their peaſants as poor, and as humble as poſſible; I, on the contrary, do every thing to enable them to enrich themſelves, and would rather inſpire them with the manly boldneſs of the poor in your country, than keep them in the ſlavery of our's. We have a great power over them, and they are bound to perform ſo many ſervices to their Lord, in perſon, and with their cattle and teams, if they have any, ſo that they have very little time to themſelves, if they are ſo unfortunate as to be ſubject to an unpitying

ſuperior.

ſuperior. People in ſuch a ſituation are by no means fit to aſſiſt me in my general plan of improvement, hence therefore, all that hire land of me, or have rights of commonage or cattle, pay me given rents, excluſive of all ſervices, without a particular bargain; as I make it a rule never to call on them for any thing, and the ſweets of being left to themſelves are ſo great, that they are induced to pay me the better rents, and make up the ſurplus by a greater degree of induſtry; as they find, that whatever they make, is to be for the advantage alone of themſelves and families. I find every day the advantage of this conduct: my peaſants grow into wealthy farmers, or, at leaſt, are all in eaſy and happy circumſtances; they marry, and beget numerous poſterities; the population of my eſtate increaſes, and with the people the general markets for products, which I have all along aimed at, and which is juſt ſo much clear gain into my pocket. I have not a man upon my eſtate, that is not profitable to me, in ſome way or other; and it is incredible how quick they increaſe. There is not ſuch a thing as a marriagable man or woman upon it that are unmarried; every man and woman that apply to me for a houſe, are ſure of having one built

built for them, if I know them to be of good characters, and induſtrious; and they have all a ſmall piece of land, and none but what are chearful and contented. In ſuch a ſituation, maarriages cannot but abound and the people increaſe, in a manner which none of the countries in Europe have any idea of. Among all my people, there is not one that is burthenſome to the reſt; no old peaſant or labourer but what has ſaved enough, before he was in years, to live happily in his latter days; very few but what become little farmers before they are old, and in a ſtate in which their relations would think it ſhameful to let them want their aſſiſtance.

The Count having ſhewn me this part of his eſtate, returned home by a circuit of above five miles, all through an uncultivated waſte. You ſee, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to me again, that I have yet a great deal of work to do; all this track of country, with ſome others almoſt as extenſive, are as barren as I found them; but as my improvements advance very quick, I am not without hopes of ſeeing the whole, ſome time or other, under culture; in the mean time, it is not totally uſeleſs, for I have many ſhepherds, who attend very conſider-

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able flocks of ſheep, which paſture here; theſe are all of an improved breed, which I effected by importing rams from Flanders and from England, in order to provide wooll for my manufactory: my flocks fully anſwered that end ſome years ago, but ſince I have increaſed my fabrics ſo much, I cannot ſupply them from my own lands with all they work up, and am therefore obliged to import from other countries; and what I get I have chiefly from England, which I freely confeſs to you. This is not, however, an object of real importance; for the improvement of the land, to yield plenteous crops of corn and roots, is a far more advantageous application of it; and here, by the way, let me ſtart a reflection, which has ſtruck me more than once in the courſe of my undertakings. In your country, ſheep is made the great object, even in improved territories: Now this appears to me to be an erroneous policy; I have not yet found out the means, nor do I think it poſſible, to make the utmoſt value of improved land by feeding it with ſheep; and from all the experience which I have been able to gain, the advantages which ariſe from the culture of lands, improved in arable crops, much exceed any thing that ſheep can yield, even

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if all the profits of the manufacture are added: this has made me wonder very much at the conduct of England, in giving ſuch excluſive favour to every thing concerning that animal. I replied, that in England, no excluſive favour was given to ſheep, as every man was left at liberty to keep and feed whatever ſtock beſt pleaſed him; but that the ſupport of our growth of wool, was in the paſturage of waſte counties, or, at leaſt, of thoſe which were ſuch in compariſon with our beſt; that ſuch counties, where great tracks in them were totally applied to feeding ſheep, though the land was as applicable to producing grain, &c. as moſt others, was owing to the indolence or want of ſpirit of the owners.

Returning home, the Count further diſcourſes as follows: The example of my own eſtate, ſaid he, proves to me, that nothing is wanting to make a country populous, and conſequently rich, but giving the people an object for their induſtry to work upon; the moſt idle will, of themſelves, be converted to induſtry, if their induſtry is beneficial to them, and if they have no other dependance but on it. I know no people naturally more indolent than the common people in Denmark; but in the moſt populous

ſous parts of Holland, they are not more active and induſtious than all the people on my eſtate; which change has been effected merely by throwing them into the purſuit of gain, and letting them quietly enjoy it. The natural increaſe of mankind is prodigious, when marriages are no burthen, but children riches; and I am ſo ſtrongly convinced of this truth, that I cannot help conſidering, with ſome degree of ſurprize, the conduct of ſeveral potentates, who ſeek to people their deſarts by importations of foreigners, and, at the ſame time, continue to keep their peaſants in an abſolute ſtate of ſlavery. Nothing can effectually people any country but the natural increaſe of its own inhabitants, accelerated by ſuch good and wholeſome laws and inſtitutes as ſecure their freedom and property, and take off every idea of children being burthenſome.

Another reflection, which I have made from the progreſs and event of my own undertakings, is on the balance, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, of agriculture and commerce. My view in eſtabliſhing manufactures on my eſtate, and opening ſome degree of trade, was to give a ſubſiſtance to people, for whom I wiſhed to form a market,

ket for the products of my lands. The hands employed in cultivating them, even in the higheſt perfection to which huſbandry is capable of being carried, cannot conſume the product, the ſurplus muſt therefore be ſold; but a regular market, at a good price, was not to be had, and the conſequence of which is always an obſtruction to all improvements; to remedy this, I ſaw clearly that nothing would be effectual, but increaſing the people, and giving the new hands other means of employment than agriculture; becauſe, if I employed them in raiſing food alſo, I ſhould only be increaſing the former evil; here therefore, I called in commerce to my aid, I eſtabliſhed ſome fabrics, and raiſed a town that provided no food, but was conſequently to be fed by the ſurrounding country; this gave me the market I wanted for the land products. Here now ariſes the queſtion, ſhould the manufactures and trade be puſhed on to as great a height as poſſible, or ſhould they be kept in the even proportion to the market wanted by the farmers? In other words, ſhould the trade be made a principal object, or ſhould it be kept entirely ſubſervient to agriculture?

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This is a queſtion which involves in it the whole circle of all the politics which have ſo long agitated the world. I am far enough from being able to give a definition of the direct line of propriety, but I will tell you, what is my idea of conduct, for my own little concerns, and you will be able to judge whether it will be at all applicable to the conduct of nations. I was ever of opinion, that in all improvements of the ſort, which I have undertaken, permanency is an object that is never to be loſt ſight of, for ever ſuch brilliant promiſes, if they are not evidently laſting; an improvement of land, of manufacture, of trade, deſerves not the name, if it laſts but for a ſeaſon: hence it is, that the greateſt immediate effect is not always the moſt inviting, if the permanency of ſucceſs be not equal to it. My firſt motive of undertaking improvements, was to increaſe my revenue; and in reaſoning upon the effect, we ought to ſuppoſe, I have never ſince had any other motive, though, in reality, the pleaſure of beholding my riſing ſucceſs, in making ſo many people happy, has been, by degrees, a much ſtronger inducement; this, however, is to be thrown out of the queſtion, and the principal aim of all the undertakings, ſuppoſed to be the gaining

gaining from my eſtate as great, clear, and permanent revenue as poſſible.

In this view of the caſe, I am inclined to believe, that trade and manufacture ſhould be carried no further than the benefit of land improvements require; that they may be made to bring in a great revenue, I have not a doubt; but I am equally clear, that they become very precarious, the moment you puſh them beyond their connection with agriculture; they are then open to the rivalſhip of other places and countries; they have no real foundation, depending upon the fictitious amount of ſobriety and moderation, which are the eſſentials of induſtry; and at the ſame time, the quantity of wealth gained, is a ſure means of introducing a degree of expence, commonly called luxury, which muſt inevitably deſtroy both. Puſhing fabrics and commerce as far as poſſible, is the ſure way to become immenſely rich; but my memory gives me no inſtance, in which great wealth has not accelerated the ruin of every nation in which it has been found. Another circumſtance, tending to the ſame point, is, that manufactures in their infancy, and the beginning of their progreſs, have always for their objects works of real and laſting utility works which

which every where command a ready price; but when they come to attain great ſplendor, they buſy themſelves more upon objects of luxury and elegance, the conſequence of which is a precarious ſale, and ſpeedy competition.

I have not a doubt but I could, by concentrating my attention to the fabrics I have eſtabliſhed, and increaſing the trade of my port to a great degree, make in houſe-rents alone, and tolls, with a few other articles of profit, a very great revenue; but as reaſon teaches me to look to the permanency of ſuch a revenue, and as I am clear it would not have that ample duration which I covet, my preſent intention is to make both fabrics and trade entirely ſubſervient to my huſbandry; only with an intention to apply that quantum of trade to the beſt purpoſe, by having enough to freight my veſſels in as well as out, and out as well as in, and to make every part be aſſiſtant to every other part. With this view, when once every acre of my eſtate is fully improved, and a market provided for all its products, at a good price, not an high one (becauſe extremes are not permanent) I ſhall then ſtop the increaſe of the town, by raiſing no more buildings; and alſo build no more

ſhips, than ſufficient to keep up the number, proper for that degree of trade which the manufactures require. If I am content with that degree of ſucceſs, I have no doubt but it will be laſting; becauſe the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of my territory, will be, what I eſteem, balanced and dependant on each other, exactly to the reſpective amount of each; and as there will be no fabrics wrought, but what are of univerſal demand, and no commerce puſhed on but what the fabrics employ, and as all the people in each of theſe branches will be dependant for their proviſions and other neceſſaries on the track of culture around them, and on no other; hence, I think, all dangerous exceſs is guarded againſt, and a regular induſtry will maintain itſelf, without being hurt by the acquiſition of great riches.

I have not a doubt of this being the moſt profitable conduct, relative to my own eſtate, and muſt own myſelf equally clear in its being the deſirable balance even for a whole kingdom; and the benefit of it is ſo great, that I can conceive but one cauſe of its not being attended to by thoſe nations, who have made any progreſs in trade. They are eager to keep all their money

money at home, gold and ſilver ſtuffs are worn at court: why, ſays the manufacturing miniſter, ſhould not your Majeſty's ſubjects make theſe ſtuffs, if they wear them, and keep the money at home, which we have paid to foreigners for them? Such is the origin of the eſtabliſhment of ſuch manufactures; but ſurely miniſters ſhould reflect, that there are few luxurious countries in the world, and none in Europe, wherein all things uſed can be made at home, and the exportation of money conſequently ſtopped: it is a chimerical idea, and ſearching for a phantom here. Look into the richeſt countries in the Eaſt Indies; are they flouriſhing in proportion to their wealth? Is it not almoſt in the inverſe proportion? Why therefore ſeek for a degree of riches which cannot be attained, but, if once gained, would be ruinous? Had I the honour of being a miniſter of ſtate, therefore, I would recommend to my maſter, to encourage none but manufactures which work upon objects of the firſt utility, and make them ſubſervient to the higheſt improvement of the lands of which they were capable of attaining. I ſhould not then leave a poſterity to fall into that unhappy declenſion which all nations, ſtates,

and cities experience, who drive their manufactures and trade to the utmoſt bounds.

Upon this reaſoning of the Count's, which I thought, in general, as concluſive as poſſible, I made only one objection. I replied, that there ſeemed to be one circumſtance of which he did not appear to be guarded againſt, and that was the impoſſibility of rendering any thing permanent; that all human affairs were expoſed to viciſſitudes, that nothing could be permanent, not agriculture any more than manufactures, or commerce, and therefore, if he founded his argument upon the permanency alone of his eſtabliſhments, it might not prove ſo ſtrongly againſt a great trade. To this the Count returned as follows:

The want of ſtability, of which you complain, has in all the inſtances at preſent in my memory, been owing to the exceſs I ſpoke of. The ruin of all the great empires, kingdoms, ſtates, and particular cities, which have been famous in the world, has been entirely owing to that exceſs of luxury, which ever ſprings from the acquiſition of vaſt wealth. That there is ſuch a thing as permanency, is ſurely evident from thoſe nations being now in being, who are the lineal deſcendants of the people

people who overturned the Roman empire; and although ſucceſſive revolutions happened, in the various kingdoms they formed, yet the nations from which they ſprung, depending entirely on agriculture, or other products of the earth, have ever continued permanent on the ſame ground; witneſs your own neighbours, the highland Scots and the Welch; alſo the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes; from whence I think it extremely evident, that this want of ſtability is totally owing to the dependance on trade, manufactures, and the wealth which they procure. Another inſtance to prove that agriculture is a very different predicament from fabrics and commerce, is that of Flanders, which I take to be the beſt cultivated country in Europe; no part of the world has ſeen more numerous revolutions, or become more often the ſeat of inceſſant wars, yet cultivation is, at this day, in very high perfection; and this, in a good meaſure, I take to be owing to manufactures and commerce having maintained only a moderate footing there, about ſufficient to give the peaſant a quick and good market for all his products.

But it is time, Sir, ſaid he, to have done with national intereſts, which to the moſt

ingenious and penetrating perſons are very difficult to be underſtood, and yet more difficult to reduce to practical rules, I ſhall therefore again return to myſelf. There is one circumſtance to be noted, which is the levying the royal revenue. The King has the tenth of all land products, and this, in many parts of the kingdom, is gathered in kind, and ſold by his ſuperintendants; but landlords may compound, though the compoſition is generally high. I would not have the real tenth taken from my peaſants on any conſideration whatever, and therefore pay a pretty high compoſition for the part of my eſtate in old culture; as to all the reſt of it, by a late edict, which deſerves to be written in letters of gold, all new improvements are exempted from all taxes, for the life of thoſe who effect them; which is a meaſure, that I am amazed does not inſtigate more of the nobility to improve their waſte tracks. I have remarked in travelling through the kingdom, that the peaſants, in thoſe parts where taxes are collected in kind, through a miſtaken avarice in their landlords, are the moſt poor and miſerable in the nation, and the leaſt inclinable to make any efforts of improvement. But, however, I muſt remark another circumſtance,

cumſtance, which is a mortal enemy to all cultivation of waſte tracks, which is the rage our nobility have for hunting; their wild uncultivated eſtates are fitter for this diverſion than if the whole was covered with corn and graſs; and this, I believe, keeps many of them from any ſuch thoughts; and even thoſe, who do ſmall matters in huſbandry, will allow of no fences being made to interrupt their hunting; no wonder, therefore, that they continue waſte. Thank heaven, our laws confine every man to his own land, unleſs he has licence from his neighbours, which is common to give; but I have never had it from others, and have always refuſed it: the ravages committed by hunting in this country, much exceed any thing you have any conception of in England. Had I followed this diverſion myſelf, or allowed it to others upon my land, all my wiſhed for improvements would have been infinitely retarded, and always ſubject to unbounded miſchiefs. I am lucky in having no foreſt of the King's contiguous to me; though, if I had, I ſhould have ſurrounded all my cultivated tracks, with fences impenetrable to the deer and boars; but in general, no care is taken to keep them

out of the farms, and the miſchief they do is prodigious.

I find from experience, that all theſe attentions are neceſſary to the encouragement of agriculture; and nothing but ſuch an encouragement, can carry the eſtates of individuals to that degree of improvement, which will prove really advantageous to their fortunes: nor ſhould I have omitted to have ſhewn you a farm on my eſtate, which is pregnant with another leſſon of ſome conſequence: it is a track of land, managed by a younger brother of mine, who pays me rent for it, on the principal part of which I have built him ſuch conveniencies as he moſt wants. It was a propoſition of his own; he was bred to the army, and ſerved ſome years, but meeting with ſome diſappointments in promotion, he obtained leave to ſell out, and retiring in diſguſt to my caſtle, he lived a year with me in idleneſs; but having a conſtant picture of an active huſbandry before his eyes, it by degrees attracted his attention, and he made the propoſal himſelf to me, ſaying, that he ſhould like to try a little farm, to ſee if practice would give him a degree of knowledge in it, and at the ſame time increaſe his inclination for it. I was

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pleaſed with the thought, and immediately told him, that he ſhould have the choice of all my farms: but he ſaid, he ſhould like beſt a piece taken out of the foreſt, in a remote ſpot, where he ſhould be by himſelf; and I accordingly built him a convenient houſe, upon a plan of his own, with the offices he deſired, and incloſed for him ſeveral fields, which he has increaſed ſince, and which he cultivates and manages in a whimſical manner, after his own fancy. His houſe is ſome miles out of the roads where I carried you, or I ſhould have ſhewn you his farm; but he is at preſent in Flanders, where he is gone to execute a commiſſion for me.

The inſtance has furniſhed me with many reflections. In moſt of the European monarchies, the profeſſion of arms has been thought the only buſineſs worthy the attention of a young nobleman; and this has been carried to ſo great a pitch, that all ſuch, who do not inherit the family eſtates, and indeed moſt that do, enter into the military life; the conſequence of this is, that the culture of the earth is abondoned to the attention and the weak efforts of a poor, exhauſted, and oppreſſed race of peaſants. What can be expected from ſuch cultivators,

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but a huſbandry that ſcarcely ever riſes above mediocrity? Would our young nobility apply to agriculture, they ſurely would render better ſervice to their country, and would find the life as agreeable as that of arms; for if we examine the beſt ſervices in Europe, we ſhall find that the pay is utterly incompetent to the expenſive life they are thrown into; and this is ſo generally and to ſo great a degree the caſe, that three fourths of all the officers in Europe are but a remove from beggars. Unlooked for promotions make, upon the whole, very poor amends for ſuch a regular life of poverty. But in the culture of the earth, the young nobility and gentry would find, if they gave an active attention to it, far better revenues, with much leſs expenſive life than any ſervice can confer; and, at the ſame time, the profeſſion has nothing diſhonourable in it, and every exertion made, would tend to promote, in the higheſt degree, the intereſts of their country; for it muſt certainly be of great advantage to any calling or profeſſion, to throw into the practice of it the people of the firſt rank, greateſt fortune, and beſt education in the ſtate, inſtead of leaving it totally to the very loweſt and pooreſt ranks. It would be amazing, if the latter made

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any improvements in the courſe of centuries, and it would be equally ſurprizing if the other did not.

I ſpent four days moſt agreeably with the Count, in being ſhewn wonders of his own creation, and liſtening to ſuch philoſophical diſcourſes as theſe. I thought his ſentiments ſo peculiarly juſt, and his maxims drawn ſo judicially from experience, that I failed not, when retired to my apartment, to throw upon paper the converſations of the day; and I muſt be allowed to remark, that I think they would have done honour to the brighteſt genius of England, France, or Italy, much more are they to be commended when found among the waſtes and bogs of Denmark. The Count hearing from me the route I was to go, gave me letters of recommendation to the Count de Smikelane, and the Baron Roſenburg, both at Copenhagen; adding at the ſame time, that they were men of underſtanding and reflection, and would give me ſome information on the preſent ſtate of Denmark, more valuable than I ſhould gain from a miniſter. He alſo gave me a letter to M. de Verſpot, at his caſtle in the mountains of Middlepade Sweden; a worthy patriot, he ſaid, who would ſhew me many improvements

ments more worthy of my attention than his own; but I replied to the impoſſibility of that. Then taking my leave of the Count, and particularly requeſting his company in Northamptonſhire, in caſe he ever came to England again, I ſet forward once more towards Hodſedburg the ſecond of September.

I got to that place to dinner, and alighting at a very indifferent inn, I had reaſon enough to regret leaving the hoſpitable table of the Count de Roncellen: The mention of which however, reminds me to obſerve one thing, which is, that nobleman's fortune is now, I apprehend, as conſiderable as the greateſt eſtates in England, and yet his way of living in the caſtle, is not ſuperior to that of an Engliſh gentleman with an eſtate of two or three thouſand pounds a year. His table was always well ſpread with plenty of every thing that was in ſeaſon, but then his own eſtate produces every thing but ſugar, ſpices, and wine; he has river and ſea fiſh in great perfection; his foreſt yields him veniſon and game, and other parts of his land plenty of wild fowl; all which, with the cultivated products, afford ample materials for a regular table. In his wines, he is by no means expenſive, and his dreſs, comparatively

comparatively ſpeaking, coſts him nothing. All his revenue therefore, which increaſes much every year, is expended, as faſt as it comes in, in the noble undertakings of which I have given an account. Such an expenditure does as much benefit to the ſtate, as honour to himſelf, and is a way of laying out a great income that can never be ſufficiently praiſed.

Perhaps alſo it is as full of enjoyment as any other diſpoſition of it can be: Let us ſuppoſe an Engliſh nobleman of thirty or forty thouſand pounds a year living in the uſual courſe of diſſipation, electioneering, and gaming, (which are the three channels that uſually waſte the greateſt eſtates,) and you will ever ſee in them a ſpecies of remorſe and diſguſt at the crampt ſituation which ſucceſſive mortgages bring on; but if the income is not exceeded, the expenditure of it gives but a momentary pleaſure, and never a laſting ſatisfaction, beſides being throughout life continually under the regret of inceſſant diſappointments. Such a life muſt ſurely be many degrees removed from an happy or a chearful one; but, on the contrary, let us figure to ourſelves, a nobleman ſpending ſuch an income the year round upon the ſpot that yields it him; in building,

ing, planting, improving waſtes, making roads, cutting canals, fixing manufactures, opening harbours, attracting commerce, in a word, executing noble works as the Count de Roncellen has employed ſo much of his time in. Is it poſſible to doubt of ſuch an employment of a great fortune being infinitely ſuperior, in ſelf ſatisfaction and enjoyment, to the other diſpoſition of it? There is ſcarcely any other but what at leaſt threatens a waſting and decline of it. This alone inſures an increaſe; and adding every day to a man's wealth, at the ſame time that every ſhilling he makes is more beneficial to the community than to himſelf. It would be ſurprizing if every nobleman thus laid out his fortune; but ſure it is equally ſurprizing, that out of ſo many great eſtates in every kingdom, the examples of it ſhould be ſo very rare. We muſt attribute it to the great power of a general luxury, which is now ſpread through all the kingdoms of Europe; which carries every thing and every body to the capital of each country; it is the deſertion of the country which occaſions this univerſal expence in vanity, diſſipation, and gaming. It is the general herding together in great cities, and fixing all eyes on the Court, and the prince, that brings all landlords

landlords of great eſtates among the pooreſt people in a kingdom, or at leaſt the moſt needy; for they every day attempt to move in a vortex, where the greateſt eſtates cannot laſt long. Throughout Europe, at leaſt through all the countries I have been in, this is generally the caſe. Eſtates in the provinces are left to the management of ſtewards and agents, who make an equal property of the landlord and his tenants, fleecing both unmercifully. While things are in ſuch a train, it is not at all to be wondered at, that improvements in agriculture are rare.

Hodſedburg, is a little town, well ſituated on a pretty river, upon which I obſerved ſome ſmall craft, a ſign that the inhabitants carry on a trade; I had good fiſh here. The country is tolerably well cultivated, except the marſhes, which are all in the ſtate of nature, having never been attempted to be drained. They cultivate many of the turnips here with cabbage leaves; but none of the crops, nor the appearance of the culture, were any thing comparable to my friend the Count's. Leaving this place, I reached Lemwijg by night, the country continuing pretty good. That town is oddly ſituated on a ſmall bay within

within ten miles of the ſea, and is without any trade or ſhipping, but ſmall fiſhing craft; the reaſon is, that it has no communication with the German ocean, the bay, on which it ſtands, being in the great lake, which extends quite acroſs Jutland, and falls into the Baltick, if I may ſo call the gulf which leads to the Sound. There is nothing worthy of obſervation in the town. I had the misfortune of a dirty, diſagreeable inn, where I found my own bed a comfort; I ſhould have been in a bad plight had I been without it.

The third of September was fully employed in reaching Nikiobing, at the diſtance of about four and twenty miles; but I was much detained by two ferries, the watermen of which were ſo aukward, and their boats ſo ſmall, that I was very near loſing a horſe, and breaking my chaiſe in pieces. Nikiobing is ſituated on an iſland in the Lake, which they call the gulf of Limford. It is chiefly applied to paſturage; I ſaw ſcarcely any corn or ſtubbles. The town is pretty large, but ſeems very poor. I met again with very bad accommodation, and the people of the inn were not at all cleanly. On the fourth I reached Aalburg, which is on the gulf of Limford, and ſituated where

where it is contracted to the ſize of a fine river. This voyage is near forty miles, but a fine briſk wind carried us along at a great rate; they made me pay five ducats for the ſloop. It is a moſt pleaſant and romantic voyage, the gulf running through a variety of country, ſome cultivated, but moſt waſte. There are many hills, mountains, foreſts, and heaths, with ſeveral iſlands in the gulf, which are inhabited by fiſhermen; and the ſpots being woody, make a very agreeable appearance. One or two of theſe iſlands are very beautiful.

Aalbourg is the ſee of a biſhop, and a place of ſome trade, and there are alſo a few fabrics here of woollen goods, fixed at the King's expence; but they do not ſeem to be in any flouriſhing ſituation, chiefly from want of ſupport and attention to the conduct of them. The introduction of any thing of this ſort is of but little conſequence, unleſs there is a ſtanding attention to their increaſe and welfare.

Leaving Aalburg, I ſet out on the fifth for Wyburg, which I reached by night, the diſtance is thirty miles; it was a hard day's work for the extreme badneſs of the roads, which run moſt of the way through barren, mountainous tracks, and boundleſs moors

and foreſts; a diſmal dreary track, which wants a Count de Roncellen for its poſſeſſor; ſuch a man would preſently make it carry a very different countenance. Theſe waſtes are all well watered with ſtreams, and the ſoil is in general very good, much of it deep and free from ſtones, though ſome tracks are full of them, and rocky, but none that might not be applied to many very uſeful purpoſes, were they in the hands of active, and wealthy induſtry. Wyburg is the ſee of a biſhop, and alſo the reſidence of a provincial court of juſtice; but it is nevertheleſs a very inconſiderable place.

In the morning of the ſixth, I took the road for Randers; the diſtance is fourteen miles, and the road being tolerable, I got there to breakfaſt; the road runs by the ſide of a pretty river moſt of the way, upon the banks of which are ſome cultivated meadows, and alſo ſome arable lands in culture. All this country is thinly ſcattered with little ſtraggling villages, the reſidence of the peaſants; but from Aalburg hither, which is near fifty miles, I have ſeen but two gentlemens country ſeats, and thoſe make no great figure. I dined at Arhus, a place of ſome trade, being a ſea port, about twelve miles from Randers, after which I had thir-

teen

teen more to Horſens, where I got to ſupper. This is alſo a ſea port, and here I met with very civil people at the inn, and cleanly, who gave me a diſh of excellent fiſh for my ſupper, and a bottle of as good claret as I remember to have drank, which ſurprized me much. The King has great demeſns in the country I had paſſed, and upon which has been planted ſome colonies of poor Germans; they had lands lett them upon leaſe, which they cultivate better than their neighbours the Danes; but they do not ſeem to be good huſbandmen, as they fix only upon the dry lands, whereas the marſhes drained would prove much the richer of the two. Though this attention had been given to peopling theſe waſtes, yet I found very little care had ſince been taken to increaſe the numbers, or to give ſuch encouragement to them, as to enable them to execute any thing conſiderable in improvements.

Leaving Horſens, I breakfaſted on the ſeventh at Weile, which, though a ſmall place, is pretty well built. The ſtreets are ſtrait and tolerably paved, and the houſes well built of brick. It has a commodious harbour, on a bay which falls into the Baltic, by means of which, it carries on a

pretty good trade. But I may remark, that the inhabitants of all theſe little poſt towns ſeem much to want encouragement in their trade; they would all flouriſh very tolerably, if they had a cultivated country, with ſome manufactures behind them. Many favourable circumſtances muſt unite in a port to create a trade, where the export conſiſts of nothing but a ſcanty product of mere natural commodities; trade conſiſts of and depends upon exportation reciprocal to the importation; but the general misfortune in the commerce of ſuch little ports, is a failure of the exportation part; all of them, as far as the demand reaches, are free enough at importing. This is a ſure trade to the merchant, as moſt branches are, in which gold and ſilver are the commodities exported for the products and manufactures of other countries. Indeed the Daniſh ports have the general misfortune of being deficient in inland navigation, having nothing to depend upon but the mere circulation of the town, which is in general very confined. Trade depends much on manufactures, and not a little on a flouriſhing agriculture. Neither of theſe are common in Denmark; we are not therefore to wonder, that the general commerce of the kingdom is confined.

From

From Weile I reached Kolding by dinner; the diſtance is twelve miles. This is a very pretty town, beautifully ſituated; it contains ſome trade, and a royal palace; but it has nothing in it that is worthy of a traveller's notice, though the inhabitants make a great matter of it, as if it was the Verſailles of the North. The King has ſome conſiderable demeſns around this town, and raiſes a revenue by a toll upon all cattle which paſs the bridge, and which amounts to a conſiderable ſum; for moſt that are driven from Jutland for the Dutch drovers, which are very numerous, pay here half a dollar a head. The country from Horſens to Weile is tolerably well cultivated. The peaſants were carrying in part of their harveſts, as I paſſed, and I remarked that they did not ſtow their corn in barns, but built it on ſtacks. This is not common in Denmark, which made me enquire into their motives for it; they told me, that the corn which they ſtack, proved much ſuperior in quality to that which they laid up in barns, it drying ſo much better. I had apprehended that it was through the landlord's being ſparing in the expence of their buildings, but this was a reaſon of which I was not at all aware, but its juſtneſs I leave to the

judgment of my readers. They aſſured me, that not only the grain, but alſo the ſtraw, was much more valuable out of a ſtack than out of a barn.

From Kolding I got to Haderſhelbe by night, which was fourteen miles, through a country much ſuperior in cultivation to any I had lately paſſed; moſt of their waſte tracks had been of late improved, and many acres, that not many years ſince were all covered with foreſts, are now in a ſtate of profit for their owners. This has been totally owing to an emancipation of the peaſants. It was found that the earth would never be well cultivated by mere ſlaves, and acting conſiſtently with this juſt idea, has had the deſired effect.

The eighth, I ſet out in the morning for Ferſtede, a place on the Baltic, on the Little Belt, within ſight of the Iſle of Funen; the diſtance about eleven miles, through a country which continues all well cultivated; part of it belongs to the King, and part to a nobleman, who ſeems to have a notion of good huſbandry, from the appearance of the incloſures near his houſe. At Oſby, near the ſea, I remarked, the peaſants were manuring a large field, with ſomething that looked like a reddiſh marl; but on enquiry,

I found it was a mixture of ſea-weed, ſhore-mud, and ſand, which they had laid in very great heaps, and were now carting it into a fallow for wheat. They informed me, that the improvement brought by this ſort of manure was very great and laſting; that they reaped crops more abundant for it, as five to three after ſeveral years, but at firſt doubly good. They were not however executing this for themſelves, but their Lord, who reſides in the neighbourhood.

caſtle. From delays, and the want of a good wind, it was late in the afternoon before we reached the coaſt of Zealand, and I could get no further than Slagel that night, which is a little inſignificant town, where I met with very bad accomodation of all ſorts.

On the morning of the 10th I ſet out for Roſkild, on the way to Copenhagen, the diſtance of twenty two miles. This country is nearly equal to Funen; it is all well ſpread with cultivation, and riſing and falling in pretty hills and dales, with woods and meadows, ſome of which have lately been marſhes, but drained; and their huſbandry ſeems to be very good. In the great church here, I was ſhewn the monuments of many Kings of Denmark; this being their burying place: here is one of Harold VI. King of Denmark, England, and Norway, who was the founder of this church; there is alſo one in black marble, of the famous Queen Margaret. They likewiſe ſhow a great whetſtone here, which, they ſay, was ſent to this Queen by Albert King of Sweden, in deriſion, intimating thereby, that women ſhould ſharp their needles, inſtead of aiming at war; but the wit, which is very poor, was better anſwered

ing wheat; and I obſerved that it was all on ploughed ground, and not on clover ſtubble; and all the wheat land was manuring. Funen has no mountains or rocks, but conſiſts of gentle hills and declivities, with fine ſpreading vales; ſome of the higher grounds are prettily topped with woods, and there being many rivulets, the whole country is beautiful, and reſembles many agreeable tracks in England. The peaſants here are in many parts free, but in others they continue in a ſtate of villainage; and it is very eaſy to ſee, by the different appearance of the lands, the bad effects of keeping them ſo. There is alſo plenty of good paſtures and meadows in this country, and numerous herds of black cattle and hogs; and the horſes I think have a better appearance than elſewhere. I obſerved many colts marked, which I found, on enquiry, were for the King, who demands a certain number every year at a fixed price; and theſe are trained for the cavalry.

Early on the 9th I went to Nuborg, being the port at which you take ſhipping to croſs the Great Belt into Zealand. It contains a good port, and has a little trade; it once was very ſtrong, but now has nothing but the ruins of its old fortifications and caſtle.

country I have juſt deſcribed; this makes it by nature ſtrong, and the numerous works added to it, in the modern ſtile of fortification, increaſe the ſtrength greatly. The moſt ſtriking object, is the harbour and the naval arſenal; it is capacious enough to hold five hundred men of war, and yet only one ſhip can come in at a time; the entrance, ſmall as it is, is defended by ſeveral batteries of great guns; and there are ſeveral platforms near it, with three forts. There are no tides in the Baltick, but the depth of water in the harbour, renders it perfectly ſecure for the greateſt ſhips, ſo that it is juſtly reckoned one of the beſt havens in the world. The King's fleet (for this is the principal port for his men of war, and the only one for great ſhips) lies regularly arranged between booms, and againſt them magazines, with the name of each ſhip on the door of the ſtore rooms, belonging to her; and every thing is kept in the compleateſt order. The admiralty is on the haven, which contains, beſides theſe magazines, numerous others; the arſenal is very well furniſhed with cannon, and other military ſtores; and adjoining to theſe buildings, is a citadel, which commands the harbour.

The

The King's palace is a fine building, very ſpacious, and ſome of the apartments magnificent, but I had heard it repreſented in ſuch a pompous manner, that I was much diſappointed. The court is as brilliant as any I have ſeen; it is a military one, for the number of officers is great; the very garriſon of Copenhagen alone amounts to near ten thouſand men, beſides the King's guards, which are a very fine, ſhewy, and well diſciplined ſet of men. The ſtanding forces of the kingdom are about forty thouſand men, fourteen thouſand of which are cavalry, and the reſt infantry; a conſiderable number of theſe are militia, but then the militia of this country is as regularly and as well diſciplined as the regular troops; and for about two months in the year, they are embodied, and in actual diſcipline; a part of which time, they form the garriſon of Copenhagen, and are immediately under the eye of the King. This ſyſtem makes them as good troops as any others in the ſervice; and by allowing them to follow their reſpective trades, the kingdom does not receive quite ſo much miſchief, as if they were in arms all the year round.

The

The troops of Denmark, have a very good character for bravery and obedience, the two great eſſentials in a ſoldier; but the number kept up is much greater than it ought to be, ſince Denmark furniſhes nine tenths of them, Norway ſupplying only ſeamen; and their rocky, boiſterous coaſt forms them ſo bold and hardy, that none are accounted better. None of the dominions, except partial diſtricts, are well peopled; and ſuch a numerous body of troops, many of whom are taken from their own peaſants, is doing a great miſchief to agriculture. Indeed the deſpotiſm of the monarchy is ſo great, that many of the regiments are filled with foreigners, particularly Germans and Poles; and there are great numbers of foreign officers in all the corps; this is to keep the nation in the more ſevere obedience, a precaution that does not ſeem very neceſſary, for ſince the unaccountable revolution, which threw the liberties of the people into the hands of the crown, there has ſcarcely been the ſhadow of a revolt; the Princes that have ſat upon the throne of Denmark have been, ſince that revolution, remarkable for their abilities, and for purſuing the real intereſts of the country, as well as deſpots can do it;

it; which has probably been attended with this great effect, in keeping the nobles from all thoughts of throwing off the yoke.

It has been common in many hiſtorians and political writers, to ſpeak of the government of Denmark, as an abſolute monarchy, founded on the right and juſtice of a free gift, but nothing can be more prepoſterous: indeed there is nothing ſo repugnant to the common ſenſe, and the rights of humanity in a deſpotic government, that nothing can be more contradictory to truth, than a pretence to fix it upon ſuch foundations. The account of the tranſaction, as given us by the beſt authors, ſets forth, that the commons, diſguſted with the tyrannical behaviour of the nobles, went in a pet to the palace, and made an offer of their lives, liberties, and properties to the King, without ever aſking the concurrence of the third eſtate; the nobles, which was the principal of the three, and who were utterly againſt the meaſure, as the moſt unheard of monſter in the world; and though they agreed in it at laſt, yet every writer is ſufficiently clear, that it was by force they came into the agreement, and not till the gates of Copenhagen were ſhut and guarded, and troops poſted all over the town.

town. This was the free gift ſo much boaſted of by ſome of the ſlaviſh hiſtorians of this country. It is extremely evident, from the face of the tranſaction, that the final and complete agreement, which gave an appearance of validity to the act, was forced, and conſequently null and void; but when once arbitrary power is erected, however unjuſtly, who is to overturn it? who is to oppoſe it? who is to ſhew the rottenneſs of the pretences, on which the right to it is founded? None but ſome bold, deſperate, and enthuſiaſtic lovers of liberty, who, riſing from the ſlaviſh condition of their brethren, dare to draw the ſword of liberty, by deſpots miſ-called that of rebellion. The chance of ſuch men being found, and of circumſtances which may give them ſucceſs, is too great to be looked for. But where is the right to that deſpotiſm which the Kings of Denmark have aſſumed? Not in the free gift of the States, I think, is very clear; but even ſuppoſing the nobles had agreed in the meaſure, did it from thence follow, that the States of the day, have an unlimited power to make ſlaves of all their poſterity? I am very ſenſible, that there are more univerſities than one, who would very readily give a deciſion in the affirmative;

affirmative; but for the honour of humanity, I hope there are numerous bodies of men, who would diſdain the reaſoning; but the records of the originals of all governments tell us very plainly, that every country had originally freedom; but in every kind of government, there was at the origin of it, a neceſſity of granting a certain degree of power to rulers; and afterwards chicanery, treachery, bribery, force, and a thouſand efforts were ſucceſſively made uſe of by them, to enlarge the power which was originally granted and entruſted to them, for the good of the community, until by a ſucceſſion of frauds, a moſt limited monarchy became a deſpotiſm; ſuch is the turn of human affairs in general, that miſchiefs will, and do abound in every conſtitution; but the greateſt of all others, is that of ſuch changes in a government as we have juſt been ſpeaking of; but why ſhould men give the ſanction of right, to what has not a pretence of demanding it? Why ſhould they not ſubmit to the monſter of deſpotic authority, without reaſoning, like ſlaves, upon the right and property of our being ſo? All the world muſt know, that where theſe governments ſubſiſt, they ſubſiſt by force, and nothing but force can

keep them from being overturned by the united efforts of all the people, except a few, who are kept in pay by the Sovereign: the number of ſtanding forces, ſupported by all abſolute monarchs, ſhews plainly wherein they think their ſecurity lies. But to return:

At Copenhagen are ſeveral new manufactories, called Royal ones, from being eſtabliſhed at the King's expence; the chief of theſe, are the woollen ones; here are more than four hundred looms for weaving moſt ſorts of cloths, from the fineſt, for the wear of the King himſelf and his Court, to coarſer ſorts for cloathing the army. There are a great number of hands employed in theſe, and ſome late meaſures have been taken to increaſe them, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſeveral perſons I converſed with, aſſured me, if they went on with as good a progreſs in future, as they have done hitherto, they would not only cloath all the army, but completely ſupply the whole demand of Copenhagen, and alſo make all that was wanted to export to the Eaſt-Indies, in their India ſhips; but I muſt own, I doubt the truth of this intelligence, but whatever degree of accuracy there may be in it, ſtill I muſt allow

that

that theſe eſtabliſhments are very princely, and ariſing from a real and commendable attention to the intereſts of the kingdom.

Having viewed whatever was worthy of attention in the city of Copenhagen, I waited upon the Count de Smikelane, and the Baron de Roſenburg, with the letter with which my good friend the Count de Roncellon had favoured me. Accidentally I met with them both at once, for the Baron was at the former nobleman's when I waited on him: upon reading the letters, they received me with the utmoſt politeneſs, and aſſured me, that they ſhould eſteem themſelves very happy in giving me whatever information I deſired, that was in their power, relative to the preſent ſtate of Denmark. The Count deſired me to dine with him, and the Baron ſaid he would be of the party: I accepted the invitation readily, and the converſation I had with theſe noblemen proved very inſtructive to me.

I found the Count lived in a very magnificent manner; he eat on a very ſuperb ſervice of plate, and the number of his gentlemen and attendants, ſhewed that he made an unuſual figure. This is not the plan of life that M. de Roncellon delights in, but this nobleman is nevertheleſs a very worthy

and a very ſenſible man, but without that enthuſiaſtical love of improvements, which has led the Count de Roncellon to fix his reſidence entirely in the country. But although this nobleman had not thus ſacrificed at the ſhrine of utility, he allowed full honour to his friend who had, and ſpoke of him in the warmeſt terms of friendſhip and approbation. In diſcourſing on his way of life, the Baron de Roſenburg ſaid, I readily acknowledge, that M. de Roncellon deſerves all that both of you can ſay in his favour; but I think, there is an eſſential fault in his ſyſtem; his plans are all admirably laid, and executed with a ſpirit that commands ſucceſs, and ſo they will be as long as he lives; had he ten lives, all would be employed and exhauſted in an eternal round of buſineſs, but when is the end to be anſwered? When is he to enjoy himſelf? When is he to ſay the work is done, and, with Pyrrhus, we will now ſet down at our eaſe and be happy?

I did not think this, by any means, a juſt idea of the Count and his great exertions; and therefore replied, that it appeared to me a miſtake, in thinking that the Count ever fixed his happineſs in the concluſion or completion of his undertakings; but, on the

the contrary, in the carrying them on: the greateſt enjoyment he can poſſeſs, is to view daily the progreſs he makes; to attend to the circumſtances as they ariſe, and from an increaſe of income, regularly coming in, to poſſeſs a power of as regularly increaſing all his works. In a word, his happineſs lies in the work itſelf, and not in the ſucceſs of it; and I have no doubt, but if his whole eſtate was fully cultivated, his town full of manufactures, and his port of commerce, that he would then buy more waſte land, for the ſatisfaction of employing his money in the way which moſt conduces to his happineſs.

The Count de Smikelane acknowledged, that this was the proper light to view his friend in; but the Baron did not ſeem to think, that much happineſs could be enjoyed ſo very obſcurely. During the courſe of the converſation, I made enquiries into the ſtate of the Daniſh trade and manufactures, and into the policy reſpecting them of late years. The Count replying to me, ſaid that their government had, for many years, given great attention to every thing, that ſeemed promiſing in favour of thoſe objects; that the means chiefly taken, were to lower, and, in ſome inſtances, totally

take off the duties upon exportation, which in ſeveral material articles had been ſo high as much to cramp the induſtry of the people. Another means taken, added he, has been to encourage the building of ſhips, and the tranſport of all commodities on Daniſh bottoms; in this there has been ſome progreſs made in ſeveral towns of Denmark, and a few in Norway; for the government has a liſt of every ſhip, belonging to the King's dominions, and regular advice of every one that is built or broken up. This intelligence, which is had without any expence, is of the utmoſt importance, as the miniſtry ſee at once the variations in the ſhipping; if they increaſe at one place remarkably, they enquire, and make themſelves maſter of the reaſon, that the ſame cauſe may be rendered alike active in other places. If they decreaſe, the ſame knowledge is gained, and by diſcovering the evil, the moment it is in being, are able to provide a remedy; when they know why the ſhipping decreaſes, they can properly apply their encouragement, ſo as to make it the moſt effectual. The utility of this meaſure, has beſt manifeſted itſelf in the effects; for I have been aſſured on very good authority, that in the laſt twelve years, there has been an increaſe of above thirty

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ſail of ſhips, and at the ſame time, that the general burthen of all is alſo much higher. This is an extreme good ſign, for nothing marks ſo well the ſtate of commerce, as the increaſe or decreaſe of national ſhipping; no nations have ever made any figure in trade, without great quantities of ſhipping; the thing, we know, is poſſible, but ſtill, all the facts that hiſtory gives us, are againſt it: that nation, that is carrier to all the reſt, will preſently be maſter of the trade of all the reſt. He went on:

Denmark, it is true, poſſeſſes very few commodities, to ſend out to our neighbours; Norway, in this reſpect however, is rich, her timber is an inexhauſtible ſtore, for exporting in her own ſhips; but this is not the only object, for the Daniſh miniſtry have juſtly obſerved, that the trade of no nation is in proportion to its products. Your commerce in England is infinitely beyond what your products would, originally ſeem to entitle you to; and what are the products of Holland? yet the trade of the Dutch has been by far the greateſt in the world. We think, in general, in the North, that the poor nations are to draw the trade to themſelves from their rich neighbours, and not upon very bad grounds; for the great

wealth of thoſe countries, which have long been in poſſeſſion of much commerce, renders every thing in it ſo dear, that its manufactures cannot find a ſale any where but at home, the conſequence of which is, that their trade, by degrees, migrates to much poorer countries. Upon theſe foundations it is, I apprehend, that our Daniſh politicians look for a greater commerce, than the mere line of our products at firſt ſight entitles them to.

I replied, that I thought the efforts made of late years in the northern kingdoms, in favour of commerce, deſerved the acknowledgment of all their true patriots; but that if he would permit me, I would give him my reaſons, why Denmark could not expect the ſame ſucceſs in trade that the Engliſh and Dutch have had. The Count anſwered, that he ſhould be happy in hearing my opinion. I then obſerved, that they had three very material circumſtances much againſt them; government, climate, and a want of products; I will mention the laſt, firſt, as you have juſt touched upon it. The trade of England is, I believe, exactly regulated by her products, which are more conſiderable and fortunate for commerce than thoſe of any other countries. The co-

lonies

lonies in America are, in this light, the ſame as if a part of our countries; and if you conſider the immenſity of their product, added to that which reſults from our Eaſt India trade, our Newfoundland fiſhery, and the products of our land, which in corn, wool, leather, metals, &c. are very great, you will find the amount to be a very noble and conſiderable foundation whereon to conſtruct the great edifice of Britiſh commerce. Then if we turn to Holland, we ſhall not find that nation to be wanting in products; for what are we to eſteem their immenſe Eaſt India trade, and poſſeſſion of ſome of the richeſt countries in the known world, and the monopoly of ſpices? Alſo their herring and whale fiſheries, which they carry on to ſo great an amount? Theſe are articles, with ſome others which might be named, that ſhew plainly the Hollanders, though they have not ſuch materials as England, have yet ſomething very ſolid whereon they build their trade. The ſame concluſions will, I apprehend, be drawn, look to whatever nation you pleaſe. France comes next in the commercial world, a kingdom whoſe trade is minutely dependent on her products.

Now,

Now, Sir, the products of Denmark will not allow of ſuch great commerce as thoſe which I have mentioned. It is not of conſequence to be minute, as you admitted a want of products. The next reaſon againſt your poſſeſſing a great commerce, is the climate. None of the finer manufactures can be carried on, ſo as to execute them in the brilliancy now requiſite, in very cold countries; hard froſts interrupt the workmen even in England, what therefore muſt they do in Denmark? There is no fact clearer than this. But the greateſt obſtacle remains to be ſpoken of, which is the government; you want to create a commerce without materials to conſtruct it; and ſuppoſing the thing poſſible, ſhould you think it ſo in an abſolute monarchy? Such an active ſpirit of induſtry and trade, as a people muſt poſſeſs who carry on ſuch a commerce, could not exiſt but in a government of perfect freedom and equality. This is ſo undoubtedly true, that we feel the effects in England, even of a limited monarchy. Wherever you have a King, you will have a court, and ſtrong diſtinctions in the ranks of ſociety; a nobility, with privileges which ſet them above the reſt of the ſubjects. Such poſſeſſors of land, enjoying greater privileges, and meeting with

with more reſpect than the mere merchant and manufacturer, is an obſtacle to trade and commerce. Theſe are circumſtances that we feel in our trade. In England, we ſcarce ever ſee a merchant, or manufacturer, raiſe an hundred thouſand pounds, but he longs to be in the moſt reſpectable claſs; he purchaſes land, and his counting-houſe is preſently filled with a couſin, or a nephew. This keeps immenſe ſums of money out of trade. Now in Holland, a man never leaves off trade, but the father keeps in it as long as he lives, and his ſon ſucceeds him in it. But go into France, an abſolute monarchy, and you there find, that men enter into commerce, not with a view to make very great fortunes, but to gain enough to purchaſe ſome eſtate that ſhall take them out of a claſs of people much deſpiſed, and rank them among the nobleſſe; while a manufacturer or trader continues among the bourgeois, he is generally regarded by the whole body of the nobleſſe with ſome degree of contempt. How then can commerce and manufactures flouriſh? If you ſay they have flouriſhed, I reply, the products are ſo great in that kingdom, that they flouriſhed in ſpite of obſtacles; and that all the reſt was the effect of regulations and Colbert's encouragement,

ment; which were admirable for promoting and increaſing their commerce; but his creations were much fewer, than generally ſuppoſed. Nor is it foreign to the argument, to obſerve the hard fate of the French manufactures and commerce. In 1683, they were advanced to a great height, and on the increaſe; in 1714, all were in one general ruin. After this, a wiſe conduct, and a long peace, re-eſtabliſhed by degrees, many of them; ſo that in 1740, the fabrics and commerce of France were flouriſhing. In 1749, all were once more in ruin, and from a ſucceſsful war, ſome of them again revived and carried an outſide ſhew of ſucceſs in 1754; but a new war breaks out, and in 1763 all were again involved in a worſe ſtate than ever. They have not again revived; and let me remark, that every blow which that kingdom has received, hath done it a laſting damage, for although it has ſoon ſhewn a kind of renovation, yet it has ever been but a partial one. Since the death of Lewis XIV. they have never poſſeſſed either the trade or fabrics they did in his reign; and every ſucceſſive war did them a degree of miſchief, which has never been repaired. This has not been the caſe in free kingdoms and ſtates; evils in ſuch countries want nothing

thing but patience to remedy themſelves. England has been highly flouriſhing for a century and a half, and ſhews not a ſign of decay, and Holland for more than two centuries; and though ſhe is not ſo powerful in war as formerly, is yet in poſſeſſion of a vaſt trade. This great difference lies in the governments. In France, the reparation of misfortunes, or the making any great exertions, is done by a weight of taxes laid on all the lower ranks of people, out of proportion to the others. But in England and Holland, all claſſes bear an equal burthen; give whatever encouragement you will to commerce, ſtill there will be evils inherent in the adminiſtration of abſolute power, which no care or attention can overcome.

Both the Count and the Baron heard me with politeneſs and attention. The Baron declared himſelf of my opinion, and at once condemned the idea of making Denmark a great trading power. Our King, ſaid he, keeps forty thouſand ſoldiers in pay, and that is a degree of power inconſiſtent with trade and commerce, for it is certainly againſt trade to keep ſuch an army; but what would become of Denmark, in the preſent

preſent ſtate of the North, if ſhe was not armed?

The Count did not carry matters thus far: He ſaid, that I was certainly right in ſome of my principles, but that the kingdom we were then in, proved againſt me in others. He deſired me to conſider the difference in the trade of England, or any other country at different periods. You had more wool in Henry the eighth's reign, than you have now; but what compariſon is there between the benefit reſulting to the kingdom in the two periods? Then look at your corn trade, you had as many acres of land in the time of the ancient Britons as now; but proper attention, and putting all the ſprings of induſtry in motion, have changed the poſſibility in one caſe, to a certainty in the other. You alſo beg the queſtion, by ſtating as products, what are received by different nations from colonies or fiſheries. Such may, for any thing you can aſſert to the contrary, be in the power of every nation that chuſes to accept of them. Why may not Denmark plant colonies in the Terra Auſtralis? Why may ſhe not gain a ſpice trade in the iſlands of the ocean that bound the Philippines? Why may ſhe not have her herring and whale fiſhery, as well as the Dutch?

Moſt

Moſt certainly there wants little more than an animated ſpirit, in puſhing all theſe matters to the utmoſt extent, in order to gain poſſeſſion of many things, which at preſent are thought far beyond the power of a nation to attain to. The encouragement of commerce, manufactures, the arts and agriculture, will effect every thing; it is of little conſequence to aſk, what government a country is under. The moſt trading nations in the world inhabit Aſia, and live under deſpotic monarchs, and have not even the advantage of any encouragement but that of lucre. Look at France, when ſhe was a mixed government, and behold her now; ſee the amazing improvements, which have taken place in Ruſſia, and all effected by the abſolute will of a monarch.

I replied, that this was all very true, and that I believe, I might have uſed expreſſions rather too general; the truth is, I did not want arguments, ſo much as information, concerning the preſent ſtate of Denmark; and therefore dropping the preſent ſubject, by bringing the object of our converſation nearer home, the Count gave me the following account.

The attention which our two or three laſt Kings have given to the encouragement

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of every thing uſeful, but eſpecially his late Majeſty, has had ſuch a ſtrong effect as is viſible to all Denmark. The people are increaſed conſiderably, which I take to be the beſt ſign of all others; and this has been pretty general through Norway, Jutland, Sleſwic, Holſtein, and the iſles. An exact regiſter of population has been kept for near thirty years, by which it appears, that the increaſe is pretty regular in all thoſe countries, which ſhews that it is owing to a general order, and attention in government, which ſpreads equally over the kingdom; nor is this increaſe without another reaſon, and that not an impolitic one, it is the acceſſion which the King's territories receive from foreigners; great encouragement has for ſome years been given to all who will ſettle in any part of his dominions, which has been ſuch an inducement, that the number of Germans who have arrived is very conſiderable. Many tracks of the King's demeſnes in Sleſwic and Holſtein, are entirely peopled with Germans, who have ſettled there for the ſake of lands being given them to cultivate for many years, without paying any rent. Some of the great kingdoms in Europe complain of a declining population, and with reaſon, according to the

the general accounts; it is certain, that France falls ſhort four millions of people from the number ſhe had in the beſt time of Lewis XIV's reign. And this decline of population in the richeſt kingdoms, and the increaſe of it in Denmark, is certainly a ſign that the affairs of this country are on the flouriſhing hand.

The next article I ſhall mention to you is our commerce. There is no compariſon between the preſent trade of Denmark, and what it was thirty years ago; ſcarcely any thing has been omitted by the government, that could promote and enlarge the commerce of the kingdom. Beſides the regiſtry of ſhips, and the increaſe of the number and tonnage of them, there have been numerous advantages given to trade, which ſhew themſelves in moſt of the branches of the nation's dealings with other countries. Theſe have had ſuch an effect, as leaves no room to be miſtaken. After numerous obſtacles were overcome, we ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing an Eaſt India company; the commerce of which does not indeed make the figure of ſome others, but the affairs of it are in good order, the trade increaſing, and the profit conſiderable and regular; which is more than can be aſſerted of ſeveral others.

Our colonies in the Weſt Indies thrive more than ever, though not very conſiderable; and our general commerce of Europe is greatly increaſed, of which there cannot be better proofs than a riſe in the crown revenues, and an increaſe of population and ſhipping.

But our trade depends on, and is much connected with the manufactures of the kingdom. I can ſhew you twenty books, which aſſert that the Danes have no fabrics; thoſe who wrote ſo fifty years ago, ſpoke truth; but unfortunately they have been copied by others, down to the very preſent day, although the former truth is ſuch no longer. There has been a great turn in our commerce from the change in this point; for formerly, we imported every thing we uſed, even to the moſt common articles of cloathing, and the implements, inſtruments, machines, furniture, &c. that we uſed. Theſe ruinous importations are not totally done with yet, but many of them are cut off, by ſupplying ourſelves through the excellent means of eſtabliſhing manufactures, which has been ſet about with great and real ſpirit, and attended to with ſo much care, that the number increaſes every day, ſo that there is the greateſt reaſon to expect a conſtant diminution

minution in our expenſive imports, which has been hitherto, and cannot fail of being in future a circumſtance infinitely advantageous to the kingdom. You muſt not miſunderſtand me, I am not aſſerting, that Denmark is become a manufacturing country; on the contrary, what we yet make bears no proportion to what we import, but only that meaſures have been ſome time in execution for leſſening thoſe imports; and that, from the ſucceſs which attends them, there is no doubt, but the kingdom is in this inſtance on the improving hand.

The improvements in agriculture, which have been made with the ſame attention and care, are very great and conſpicuous in divers parts of all the King's dominions; and nothing can exceed the means, which have been taken in this work to accompliſh the end. The former bad ſtate of the kingdom was greatly owing to the miſery under which the peaſants groaned. This has been every where mollified; they have had numerous edicts in their favour, villainage is in many diſtricts aboliſhed, and the nobles and gentry prevented, by ſevere laws, from trampling upon the lower claſſes, in the manner they too commonly did formerly. The late King ſent ſeveral very able men to travel

through England, in order to report to him, on their return, the peculiarities, laws, cuſtoms, and conduct, which in that kingdom ſeemed moſt conducive to the well being of huſbandry. Their journey was executed with great ability, and from their memoirs his Majeſty and his miniſters were enabled to judge what was, and what was not, practicable in Denmark. The grand articles were to give more freedom to the claſs of cultivators, to ſecure their property, to aboliſh multipliable taxes, and to lett farms on long leaſes with covenants of improvement. Theſe were the great heads of the report, and the points upon which they moſt inſiſted, as thoſe which were of the greateſt benefit in England. They offered numerous inferior ones, upon the particular conduct of certain ſoils, upon draining, manuring, ploughing, &c. Implements were ſent over as patterns, and ſome ingenious men to inſtruct us in the uſe of them; and the King, in order to preſerve the knowledge thus gained, fixed theſe, with handſome ſalaries, on his crown lands, with their implements, and directed each to manage a given quantity of land according to the Engliſh huſbandry. The men who worked under them for three years, were then changed, and ſent

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to other eſtates, and freſh ones inſtructed, and the implements were on courſe multiplied with all of them; ſo that at this time there are a vaſt number in conſtant uſe in different parts of the kingdom. The effects of ſuch meaſures as theſe muſt, in the nature of them, be very ſlow, but ſtill they are real and increaſing. But the conſequences of the principal parts of the ſcheme have been rapid and great, particularly the letting lands on leaſes of improvement, which the King put in execution upon the crown lands immediately, and upon a large ſcale; and by his recommendations to the nobility, &c. and granting privileges to eſtates, in this management, the method ſpreads ſo much, that if the ſpirit which now animates the kingdom, laſts but for half a century, I believe Denmark will be as well cultivated as ſome parts of England, and thoſe not the worſt. Another encouragement which his late Majeſty gave to agriculture, was ordering the beſt books on that ſubject in the French, Engliſh, and German languages, to be tranſlated into Daniſh, and many complete ſets of theſe he made preſents to ſuch of his ſubjects, as made themſelves at all known by any undertakings in agriculture that were beyond the common

practice. He alſo publiſhed the offer of conſiderable premiums, to be annually diſtributed among the tenants of the Royal demeſnes, who excelled the moſt in ſuch and ſuch works.

Now, Sir, you muſt once more allow me to remind you, that I have mentioned none of theſe inſtances, to ſhew that the agriculture, manufactures, or commerce of Denmark are nearly advanced to perfection, or that great changes have already been effected, that is by no means the purport of my diſcourſe; but the fact is, that we in all theſe branches are undoubtedly improving, and that not ſlowly; and this I conceive is all that any kingdom or people can wiſh for, as ſudden acquiſitions are ſeldom laſting. The improvement, which I ſhould apprehend a ſenſible people would be moſt deſirous of ſeeing, is a ſilent, gradual increaſe, and induſtry every where ſpread and always (though ſlowly) active; the happieſt and beſt days ſeen by any nation, are not thoſe brilliant ones, when every undertaking is in every view ripened into completion, for then a thouſand evils are continually ſhewing themſelves in dangerous conſequences, ariſing from the poſſeſſion of too much wealth; but this has no being with a nation

tion that is only on the improving hand; there can be only wealth enough to animate the induſtry of the people, and to keep every thing from languiſhing. In a word, Sir, if we could reduce all the intereſts of a nation, ſuch as commerce, the arts, manufactures, agriculture, population, income, &c. to one aggregate, we ſhould then have but one queſtion to enquire and be ſatisfied in, whether ſuch nation was to be eſteemed in a good ſituation, and that is, does that aggregate, improve, or decline? While an improvement goes on, however ſlow, the nation muſt be eſteemed flouriſhing; and the contrary, the moment it ſtops increaſing.

In a ſucceſſive converſation I had with the Count, he enlarged his information on certain points, upon which I took the liberty to make enquiries. I had mentioned the ſtate of their Eaſt India trade; and he ſaid, that ſeveral plans had been laid before the miniſtry for increaſing it, and among others, there was one, which had actually been ſo much approved, as to be put partly in exetion, and this was, to purchaſe by treaty, the port and territory of Moſambique, on the coaſt of Africa, from the Portugueſe; a

colony which is of little national advantage to that kingdom, ſince the declenſion of their affairs in the Eaſt Indies, but which would be of infinite importance to the Danes, in caſe they ſet heartily about an increaſe of their India commerce. The Count further aſſured me, that, in ſome negotiations with the Court of Liſbon, matters had gone ſo far, as fixing the terms, which though they were too high to conclude on, yet they brought on a further treaty, relative to other ſettlements in the Indies, and which it was evident they ſeemed ready enough to part with, in caſe they could get high terms. Moſambique, from its ſituation, might be a port and colony of as great importance even as the Cape of Good Hope; all our ſhips, going and coming to and from the Indies, might water and take in their refreſhments there; behind it lie the richeſt countries in Africa, and it is open to the trade of the reſt of that vaſt coaſt, to Arabia, Perſia, &c. ſo that there can be no doubt but it would turn out a place of infinite importance in the hands of an active, induſtrious nation. The treaty upon this affair with Portugal is broke off, without coming to any concluſion,

ſion, but on what account is more than I am able to tell you. *

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* The idea of purchaſing this ſettlement, was certainly an admirable one; the following is the account given of it by the very ingenious editor of the laſt edition of Harris's Voyages and Travels. Vol. I. p. 697. "The beſt of all governments, that ſtill belongs to the viceroy of the Indies, is that of Moſambique, which is an iſland ſituated near the coaſt of Africa, in the lat. of 15° ſouth, within half a league of the continent. They have a ſtrong fort there, with four good baſtions, which command the channel, and in which there are ſeventy pieces of braſs cannon; and here there is always kept a good garriſon, and in tolerable order. The governor is honoured with the title of General of the river Senna, where he has his Lieutenant, which employment was worth to him ſeveral hundred thouſand crowns a year; there are but a few houſes about the fort, the inhabitants keeping their effects on the neighbouring continent. But notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of the place, there there are monaſteries of Jeſuits, Dominicans of St. John de Dios, beſides the chief church, and that of Miſericordia. The merchandize brought to this place, by the ſhips of the company, are bought at a ſet price by the royal factory, which afterwards ſends them to Chelimani, the mouth of the river Senna, running three hundred miles along the coaſt, in galliots and ſmall veſſels, becauſe of the flats from Chelimani; the goods are ſent up the river, againſt the ſtream, in almandies, or little boats, which are ten days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for thoſe who are not acquainted with the ſhallows and windings of the river. Cafres and blacks reſort to this port,

There is no object in our trade that has been more considered of late years than the East

port, from provinces and kingdoms three or four months journey distant, to buy and take up goods upon trust, for so much gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next year, unless death prevents them. This trade yields above cent per cent, so that the Portugueze may be said to have another India in Africa. Senna is a little town, on the right hand of the river, inhabited by fifty Portugueze families, who make it populous enough by the great number of blacks they keep. They till the ground, and dig the mines, and by that means maintain their masters, instead of being kept by them. About fifteen days journey from hence, lies Sofala, where the Portugueze have likewise an establishment, subject, however, to the General of Mosambique; and here a prodigious trade is driven on, of which the Portugueze are or might be masters. It consists chiefly of gold, of which there are greater quantities here, than in any other country in the world, since the annual produce of this market is computed, by the best judges, at forty six thousand ounces. There are vast quantities of Spanish and Canary wines, oil, silks, linens, cottons, coral, and other European goods sold here, which are carried by the inhabitants of the little kingdom of Sofala, through all the great empire of Monomopata, which the Portugueze stile the empire of gold, from the prodigious quantities of that precious metal which is brought to them from thence. There are likewise some very rich commodities brought hither by the negroes; such as the most excellent ebony in the world; great quantities of ivory; abundance of fine mats,

East India commerce, for it must certainly strike you, that what we want to gain, is a greater

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mats, which are much esteemed in the Indies, and a great number of slaves; so that Goa, and all the rest of the Portugueze settlements, are furnished from hence. One may justly wonder, that, considering the value of this settlement, and its convenient situation, the Dutch had not made themselves masters of it long ago, as well as all the other places belonging to the crown of Portugal, on this coast. As for the share which the Portugueze still retain, the gold obtained thereby is sent to Goa and to Diu, where it is coined into small pieces, called St. Thomas's, which are not worth above half a crown of our money; and it is observed, that this coin is of a worse touch, that is, of a baser alloy than any other in the Indies, which is another sign of a declining trade; for the Sarafins, which were formerly coined at Ormuz, when in the Portugueze hands, were esteemed the best gold in the Indies, but they are now become extremely scarce; and the St. Thomas's are said to be coined in less quantities every year.

"These possessions are said to produce so little to the King of Portugal, that it has been more than once debated, in the council of that Prince, whether it would not be for the interest of the crown to abandon them all together, withdrawing their artillery and effects; and we are likewise told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious motive, that has hindered this resolution from being taken, the priests having suggested, that, in that case, a multitude of souls would be lost to the church. We shall the less wonder at this, if we consider, that such as are best acquainted with the East India

a greater plenty of commodities, to form a trade with in Europe, and nothing anſwers better,

India trade, aſſure us, that a ſingle merchant, and a ſingle ſhip of a reaſonable burthen, may carry on as great a commerce as what at preſent ſubſiſts between Liſbon and Goa; this matter, however, deſerves ſome explanation. There are yet a great many ſhips employed from Goa, Diu, and Daman, to the coaſts of Perſia, Pegu, Manilla, and China, but they are moſtly on account of Indian merchants, there being ſcarce a Portugueze trader at Goa able to furniſh a cargo of ten thouſand crowns; and it is very much doubted, whether in the whole of their trade they employ above two hundred thouſand crowns; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange, that one year with another, there are not above two ſhips ſent directly from Goa to Liſbon, and thoſe not a fourth part ſo rich as when they annually ſent twenty.

"Yet there has been a late regulation made at Goa, for the preſervation and promoting of trade, which thoſe, who underſtood that ſubject beſt, agree, compleated its ruin.

"This is an excluſive company, which has the ſole right to the commerce of Moſambique and Mocha, which company has taken upon itſelf the payment of the royal officers, who are alſo two thirds employed therein; which has given ſuch a blow to the natural commerce of Goa, that the beſt part of the Indian merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To ſay the truth, it was the great ſhare the Viceroys, Governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themſelves,

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better, in this reſpect, than good and great aſſortments of Eaſt India goods: we have re-

on ſuch as did not admit them to a ſhare of their trade, that firſt deſtroyed the extenſive commerce they enjoyed. And upon this ſubject, the wits of the Indies have framed a very pretty allegory: they ſay, that when the Portugueze came firſt to them, they had a ſword in one hand, and a crucifix in the other; but that they might fill their pockets the faſter, they quickly diſpenſed with the firſt, and ſoon after laid down the laſt, by which they have loſt all. But though their power and their commerce are ſo much declined, their pride is as great as ever, inſomuch that they refuſe the natives of the country, who are called Canarins, the wearing of ſtockings, though they employ them as phyſicians, lawyers, and merchants; by which many of them are ſo rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen ſlaves, and are in much better circumſtances than the Portugueze themſelves.

"The revenues of the church have ſuffered very little by this moſt ſurprizing change in the ſtate; there is hardly a monaſtery that does not receive four or five thouſand crowns out of the treaſury, at the ſame time the ſoldiers ſtarve and mutiny for want of pay; which is ſo much the harder upon the government, becauſe the reverend fathers know very well how to take care of themſelves, inſomuch, that it is affirmed, the Jeſuits in Goa have a better revenue than the crown of Portugal. It is not eaſy to know what becomes of the money theſe church men raiſe; but it is very evident, that the wealth they poſſeſs, together with the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition at Goa, is ſuch a dead weight on the ſettlement, as muſt

remarked, not only in the trade of our neighbours, but alſo in the ſmall ſhare of that

muſt ſooner or later deſtroy it. The wiſeſt of the Portugueze in Europe, underſtand this very well, and would be glad to ſee ſome proper remedy applied, not from a prejudice againſt the church or churchmen, which is far enough from being the vice of that nation, but out of pure regard to the crown and to the nation; and one would think, that the clergy themſelves, inſtead of graſping at more, ought to be willing to part with ſome proportion of what is already in their hands, in order to render the ſtate more able to protect them in the poſſeſſion of the remainder. Beſides there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious houſes, is directly oppoſite to the very ſcheme of planting, and muſt always ruin the ſettlements where it prevails, and conſequently the religious houſes themſelves, which is even an argument that ought to prevail with Popiſh Princes, to lay more reſtraint on the miſſionaries that are ſent abroad; unleſs they prefer the reputation of zeal, among ſuch as are no competent judges, not only to maxims of policy and good government, but to the principles of true religion. For if there be any piety in coverting pagans to the chriſtian faith, it follows, that there is ſtill greater piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the eſtabliſhments neceſſary to ſupport them, which reaſon and experience ſhews, the building monaſteries, and maintaining numbers of idle people in them, will not do; but on the contrary, will bring on, in time, the deſtruction of thoſe colonies, in which this humour is ſuffered to prevail.

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that commerce which we poſſeſs ourſelves, that no other is a better introduction to other

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"The very laſt advices from this part of the world inform us, that ſeveral Indian Princes were driven from before Goa, which they had blocked up with a numerous army, by the powerful ſuccours ſent by the King of Portugal, and by the excellent conduct of the late viceroy, who was the Count de Laurical, and who, if I miſtake not, was twice in the Indies, and behaved there with great reputation. Such expeditions, however, are to be conſidered as expedients only, which may for a time preſerve that ſettlement, but can never reſtore it, or bring the affairs of the nation, in theſe parts, into ſo good order as to make them worth the attention of a Prince, who has the honour of his crown, and the good of his people at heart.

"It is morally certain, that the eſtabliſhments which the crown of Portugal ſtill has in the Eaſt Indies, might in the hands of an active, an induſtrious nation, turn to conſiderable account; for it has been long ago obſerved by Mr. Tavernier, that the port of Diu is as well ſituated for trade, and as capable of improvement, as any in that part of the world, or more ſo; and if put under proper regulations, that is, if made in ſome meaſure a free port, it muſt neceſſarily come in for a large ſhare of that commerce now carried on at Surat, and in all probability, retrieve much of the Arabian and Perſian commerce, that has been ſo long loſt to the Portugueze: On the other hand, as they have ſtill ſome factories at Biſnagar, and other places on that coaſt, it would be no difficult matter to re-eſtabliſh their commerce in the heart of India, at the ſame time, that the port of Macao would furniſh them with the means of ſupplying the China market,

as

other branches of trade throughout the world; for that nation, which can bring theſe

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as cheap, or cheaper than any other European nation; becauſe their colony at Moſambique is ſo ſituated, as to ſerve them for the ſame purpoſe that the Cape of Good Hope does the Dutch, or the iſland of St. Helena does the Engliſh.

"But all theſe advantges ſignify nothing in the hands of thoſe, who are ſo far from poſſeſſing the virtues requiſite to ſuch improvements, that, on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but over-run by ſuch vices, as muſt unqueſtionably overturn the beſt eſtabliſhment in the world. We may therefore ſafely predict, that the continuance, even of that ſlender power which the Portugueze have ſtill left, cannot continue long, and that for theſe two plain reaſons; firſt, becauſe it has been long, and is ſtill in a declining condition; ſo that its force being extremely decayed, and at the ſame time continually employed in reſiſting the efforts of its enemies, it is impoſſible, in the nature of things, that it ſhould ſubſiſt for any time: ſecondly, the manners of the people are entirely ruined, ſo that there is not the leaſt probability that any ſuch reformation will ever be affected, as might enable them to make ſuch uſe of the convenient ports, of which they are ſtill poſſeſſed, as is neceſſary to revive and reſtore their commerce in the Indies. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the compaſs of twenty or thirty years, their eſtabliſhments in theſe parts will be quite loſt, and that, in all likelihood, Goa, Diu, and Daman, will be loſt firſt; which will neceſſarily draw after them the deſertion of Macao, which cannot long ſubſiſt by its own force, and

lies

theſe to the beſt market, will generally have the choice of commerce among various nations. Germany is without an Eaſt India company; her neighbours ſupply her and Poland, Hungary, part of Ruſſia, all Italy, Switzerland, and part of Turkey. Theſe countries together, form a market for India goods, of infinite conſequence; and it highly behoves us, who lie extremely well for the tranſportation of commodities to many of thoſe countries, to aim at coming in for a ſhare of this profitable commerce: what we have carried on for ſome years, from Altena, has been of much ſervice to the kingdom, by opening an extenſive correſpondence into the heart of Germany, by by means of the India warehouſes there eſtabliſhed. The ſtate of our trade is this, we have never been able to exceed the ſend-

lies at much too great a diſtance to receive any effectual ſuccour or ſupport from Portugal directly."

I have given this long quotation, for two very eſſential reaſons; firſt, the book is ſcarce and dear, and of too great a ſize to be in every perſons hands; and ſecondly, becauſe the whole turn of the paſſage ſhews, that the idea of the Daniſh miniſtry's purchaſing Moſambique, and the other ſettlements of the Portugueze, is highly probable; ſince it is evident, the poſſeſſors know not what to do with them.

ing out more than four ſhips to the Indies, and but once, have received ſo many from thence; we have had very often three, and ſometimes only two, though the ſhips are of great burthen. The ſales are regular, and the profit that is made on the ſtock very conſiderable; the point, therefore, which is effected, is the ſupplying ourſelves with commodities, which formerly we were forced to take of other nations; this a very eſſential object in every trade; we have further gained a ſmall export to Germany, but the amount of two or three ſhips makes ſo poor a figure, with what might, with management, be effected, that the miniſtry, in entering into a treaty with Portugal, certainly aimed at a much more extenſive commerce: had Moſambique been ours, we calculated to have ſent ſix ſhips annually, without any other acquiſitions; but had the treaty been extended, and we had purchaſed their ſettlements in the Indies, we ſhould ſoon have had a more flouriſhing India trade than any nation in Europe, the Engliſh and Dutch only excepted.

Here the Count finiſhing his diſcourſe, the Baron de Roſenburg continued the converſation; his objection was ſtated as follows. I have more than once heard this

India

India ſcheme debated, and I remember an argument not againſt it, but againſt precipitation in it, which, I think, was never clearly anſwered. In the India commerce, you ſend out ſilver, and bring home commodities; with the ſilver, it is true, there goes ſome large aſſortments of European manufactures, particularly fine cloths: now the export of ſilver by the Eaſt India company has nothing objectable in it, to the amount of ſupplying the home conſumption with India commodities, becauſe if we did not buy them of our own company, we ſhould of the Dutch; and the amount in ſilver would certainly go out of the country the ſame in either caſe; only in one, we have the profit of the trade ourſelves, and the employment of the ſhipping and ſeamen; but in the other, thoſe advantages go to our neighbours. Thus far, I admit there is no diſpute; but when this trade is extended further, and you ſupply other nations with India goods, you muſt ſend out greater quantities of ſilver, without any certainty that you will get it again; you will ſell thoſe goods to other nations, who moſt certainly will not pay all in money for them, but, in the way of trade, put off many of their own commodites in exchange, which

will either be introduced into Denmark, to the prejudice of our own, or elſe the India commerce decline as ſoon as raiſed: but there is another objection; in the preſent confined trade we carry on with the Indies, we buy cloths of the Engliſh, to ſend out in our ſhips, our own manufacturers not being yet able to ſupply enough of the finer ſorts for that export, or our own conſumption; what therefore would they be able to do, if the trade was trebled or quadrupled? Why, this part of the profit of it, which is one of the moſt conſiderable, would go directly to England; ſo you would conſequently pay ſilver in Europe, for an ability of paying more ſilver in the Eaſt, for goods, which, when ſold, would be paid for in manufactures that rival our own. Such is my idea of this fine ſcheme: I am ſenſible, that you may quote the Engliſh, Dutch, and French, but the caſes are eſſentially different; they would be great trading nations, full of manufactures, if they had no India commerce; they ſend out their own manufactures, and in the ſale of ſuch India goods as they diſpoſe of to other nations, their great trade enables them to form univerſal cargoes, in which one aſſortment carries off another, and all pays well; beſides

beſides the home conſumption of the Engliſh and French is immenſe; and the Dutch monopoly of ſpice gives them equal and ſuperior advantages, for which reaſons, it cannot be juſt to draw any concluſions from the Eaſt India trade of thoſe nations.

The Count to this replied, that he acknowledged much of the truth of theſe obſervations, but, at the ſame time, there were two anſwers, which would in general remove the objections. Firſt, the friends of the Eaſt India commerce in Denmark, never thought of encouraging that commerce to the prejudice of any other, and, in particular, of their manufactures; that they had always propoſed the India commerce, as a means of promoting the manufactures of fine cloths, camlets, ſerges, &c. which are already eſtabliſhed at Copenhagen, and other places; that theſe manufactures were on the increaſe, and if a quick demand was raiſed by the India company for their fabrics, it would be a great means of raiſing thoſe manufactures; that the propoſition was ſuppoſed to be dependant on this circumſtance, viz. on the home manufacturers being able to ſupply all the goods carried to the Indies; that it was an error to ſuppoſe, they did not now work up ſufficient

for our preſent India commerce; that they made, on the contrary, of many ſorts, as much as they could vend; that if they wrought to twenty times their preſent amount, ſtill certain cloths, of a particular fabric, would be imported from England; and it would anſwer better ſo to import than to make them, from the ſuperior profit attending other ſorts. Upon the whole, that the fabrics of cloths, &c. eſtabliſhed, were in ſo flouriſhing a ſituation, that there was not a doubt of their ſupplying any demand we could gain for them; and that we conſequently ought to procure a demand, as eſſential to their increaſe and proſperity. Secondly, That the objection to the trade, on the ſcore of occaſioning an import of foreign commodities to rival our own, is anſwered at once, by aſking if ſuch importations cannot be prohibited, or obſtructed by high duties? All the neighbours of Denmark, might pour in manufactures or products of ſome ſort or other, if permitted, to the ruin of our own, but prohibitions, or duties, are the means taken to prevent it; and what has been already mentioned, is proof ſufficient, that the trade itſelf would not fall in conſequence of them.

Upon

Upon this argument, I think the Count had much the beſt ſide, and ſhewed, by his manner of handling it, that he had not only great abilities, but alſo a deep knowledge in the trade of the world.

In a ſucceeding converſation, which I had with the Count, at which the Baron de Roſenburg was not preſent, he explained to me another ſcheme of trade, which had been laid before the miniſtry, in the late King's reign, and which was much approved by them, but which, for ſome reaſon or other that was never known, the King would not come into; for when preſſed upon this head more than once, his only anſwer was, I do not approve it, let me hear no more of the matter; and this was the reaſon that no attempt was ever made. The plan was, to open a commerce with the great ſouthern unknown continent, called the Terra Auſtralis; a memorial was delivered to the miniſter, pointing out the advantages which would certainly accrue from carrying on a commerce with numerous nations, ſituated in the richeſt climates of the world, and who are unknown to the traffick of the world, and who would conſequently give their moſt valuable products for our commodities of the leaſt worth; ſtating the proper means of making the requiſite diſcoveries

at the leaſt expence, and ſhewing that there was nothing chimerical in the plan, but that every part of it was of eaſy execution, the riſque little, the probable advantage very great. But ſo it was, the King would not allow of its being attempted, though ſeveral of the members of the council of commerce, took upon them to anſwer any objections that might be ſtarted to it.

This plan was, I think, that which bid faireſt, to throw Denmark upon a par with other nations in commerce. The Engliſh, Dutch, French, Spaniards, and Portugueze, have all ſuch extenſive colonies and ſettlements, that they have enough to improve and promote, without ſeeking for new diſcoveries; this has been a general anſwer in thoſe countries to all propoſals of new expeditions; but however juſt it may be with them, it is by no means ſo with us, who have been long much in want of divers ways of increaſing the trade and wealth of the kingdom; for it is for want of wealth, gained by induſtry, that our natioal revenues, notwithſtanding all our improvements, are yet ſo ſmall in the eyes of the other kingdoms of Europe. The opening new diſcoveries, erecting a few forts, eſtabliſhing factories among populous nations of Indians, unknown

unknown to Europeans, and the carrying on an extenſive commerce with them, would not only pour in a flood of wealth upon this kingdom, but, what is alſo of vaſt conſequence, keep numbers of ſtout ſhips and hardy ſeamen in conſtant employment; not the employment of ſhort trips from Norway to London or Amſterdam, but in long voyages, which train up and breed a ſpecies of mariners, infinitely valuable to any nation that pretends to the leaſt degree of naval force. This point is, I think, of ſuch importance, that nothing can at any time be more feaſible than ſuch long voyages, and diſtant expeditions for the diſcovery of ſettlements, and planting of fertile and rich countries; and ſuch expeditions ought, as I before obſerved, to be particularly undertaken by thoſe nations of inferior conſequence in trade, who want ſpurs to animate them to great undertakings.

And if I was not fearful that the converſation would be tedious to you, I ſhould more particularly inſiſt on the amazing difference between this and the laſt century, and that preceding, in re-entering on diſtant expeditions for the diſcovery of unknown countries. It is aſtoniſhing to think of ſuch a bold and adventurous ſpirit, as then animated

animated ſuch numbers of men to undertakings, which would now be thought chimerical. The diſcovery of the continent of America was immediately followed by planting, trading, and conquering, with innumerable expeditions thither. But what a difference is there between that age, and thoſe which have followed! There is at preſent no doubt of a Terra Auſtralis: a great part of it, in the richeſt climates in the world, has been acuratedly coaſted, and laid down in maps. Other vaſt diſcoveries have been made, at different times, in the South-Sea of lands, yet it is unknown whether they be iſlands or a continent. Nothing is purſued, no further notice taken of the greateſt diſcoveries, that could ever be made. Maps have been made near two centuries of New Guinea, New Holland, Carpentaria, and other tracks, part of the Terra Auſtralis, and yet the world has been ſatisfied with ſeeing a broken partial line of coaſt minuted, without any prince having the curioſity of making further diſcoveries, to aſcertain the real truth concerning the people, manners, products, &c. Never was there ſuch a contraſt as is to be found in this conduct from that of the great men, who, two hundred years ago, made the moſt glorious efforts without

out half the proſpect of ſucceſs. It is a moſt certain fact, that America contains not any product, which theſe unknown countries do not poſſeſs; in ſome, the latter are ſuperior, as for inſtance in ſpices. The beſt judgment to be formed of any country, is by the latitudes; indeed it is a criterion that is in general deciſive. Now the latitude of the tracks already diſcovered to the South, are in the ſame latitude with all the richeſt climates in the reſt of globe, extending to the line. Who therefore can doubt, but that all the products, for which the European nations have been ſo eager in their American views, are to be found here? There, they are already engroſſed and monopolized by two or three powerful nations, the firſt diſcoverers of them; but here, they are open to thoſe who will take the trouble to accept them. Colonies in America have been attended with infinite advantages to the Engliſh and the French; indeed they proved the great ſupport and foundation of the former's power and opulence, and added infinitely to thoſe of the latter; why therefore ſhould not other nations, not yet poſſeſſing the ſame advantages, endeavour to attain them by the ſame means? The only opportunity left in the world, lies in the Great Continent

nent, or iſlands to the Southward; the navigator, who ſhall now attempt their diſcovery, has not the difficulties to encounter which proved obſtacles to Columbus; he does not ſail in purſuit only of an idea; on the contrary, he ſets forth under the complete knowledge, that ſuch a country, as he ſeeks, really exiſts; and that he has nothing to do, but to follow a route, already chalked out, to bring him to the countries he wiſhes to viſit. If this plain ſtate of the caſe does not ſhew the expediency of the meaſure, I muſt own myſelf utterly ignorant of all the principles of trade and navigation.

Theſe ideas of the Count's, I had not the leaſt inclination to contradict, for I thought them, and do yet think them, perfectly ſound; and they ſhew, that their author has well conſidered the whole ſubject; nor have I the leaſt doubt, but that Denmark, or any other country, would reap all the advantages here ſet forth, by attempting a full diſcovery of thoſe unknown regions, and of fixing a trade with them. But let me remark, that ſuch a nobleman's complaint of the want of that ſpirit of enterprize, which ſo much diſtinguiſhed the laſt age but one, is the ſtrongeſt proof in the world of the truth of

of the aſſertion. Every one now, who thinks of, or mentions ſuch an idea, immediately recurs to kings, miniſters, councils of trade, or companies; whereas the great things that were done in the fifteenth century, were all executed by private people, almoſt ſolely on their own ideas; and with ſuch ſlender means, that the ability of this very nobleman exceeds, I apprehend, the whole of what was executed by half a ſcore of the heroes of old. This was the true ſpirit of enterprize, which brought to light ſuch amazing diſcoveries, and which occaſioned the moſt heroical conduct in almoſt every commander employed. A ſhip of an hundred tons was, in that age, thought ſufficient for an undertaking which would now require an army and a fleet, ſuch is the difference between the genius that actuated men then and now; and that all this difference lies only in the manners of the ages, is certainly known, by the real objects of ſuch expeditions being the ſame now as then, only much leſs hazardous, from the improvements that have been made in the art of navigation, and from the examples and experience of ſo many circumnavigators. The difficulties and dangers are therefore leſs, but the bold ſpirit of enterprize is wanting, which

which was alone ſufficient to level thouſands of difficulties, and face every danger that could ariſe.

And as the converſation with this worthy nobleman, has brought me into theſe reflections, I ſhall treſpaſs on the reader's patience, in making another. The Count's remark, that theſe attempts of new diſcovery, not being deſirable to nations who have already colonies and ſettlements enough, I do not think is juſt. All experience tells us, that when once a nation ſets down contented, and ſays to herſelf we have induſtry enough, we have colonies ſufficient, we want no more trade, let us confine ourſelves to make the moſt of what we have already gained. Whenever a nation acts (or rather ceaſes to be active) on ſuch principles, we may ſafely venture to pronounce her decline at hand. It is impoſſible that induſtry and commerce ſhould be ſtationary; if it ceaſes to advance, it will go backward; activity, and motion, are the ſoul of its ſucceſs; trade never makes ſuch gigantic ſtrides as in the midſt of wars, enterprizes, and a continual buſtle. The caſe of the Dutch is a ſtriking inſtance of this; for the moment they were contented with their preſent poſſeſſions, they began to decline; but their

progreſs

progreſs had been inceſſant from one hardy enterprize to another. The Portugueze in India are another very ſtriking inſtance of this truth; for after a great number of conqueſts made, ſettlements eſtabliſhed, and colonies planted, thinking they had extended themſelves ſufficiently, and poſſeſſed enough, they then gave over their perpetual enterprizes, and a luxurious effeminacy preſently came upon them. Every one will allow they were right in thinking, that they had conquered and ſettled enough, provided all that candour and ſpirit, which had gained the Indies, had been exerted to improve them. But this was not the caſe, nor ever can be, for the ſpirit of adventure brings acquiſitions eternally, and the moment you ceaſe to acquire, you begin to loſe; it being the general bent of human nature, not to make great exertions when they are unneceſſary. Might I not ſhew, that this is not peculiar to forming ſettlements of trade, but that it is the ſame in all the affairs of life. Great ſucceſs, in every walk, is gained by the bold enthuſiaſm which attends the activity of purſuit, but falls off when a ſeries of fortunate events have blunted the edge of this activity, and brought on a ſlothful poſſeſſion. This is the caſe in common

common life, in war, in politicks, in commerce. Empires flouriſh while they boldly go on from one conqueſt to another; but decline inſtantly when they fix bounds, and ſeek only the quiet poſſeſſion of what they have got. It is the nature of man to loſe his powers and his faculties by reſt and inactivity; and on the contrary, a conſtant and harraſſing fatigue gives him the ability of undertaking and executing, what, in a ſtate of reſt, he would never have dreamed of being able to effect. It is upon the ſolid foundation of theſe reaſons, that I am an enemy to ſentiments which I have often heard in England, concerning the greatneſs of our colonies and commerce; that we have colonies enough, and more than we know what to do with; that commerce will be our ruin; that we ſhould content ourſelves with leſs; that moderation is in every thing a virtue. Theſe are moſt erroneous doctrines, which can only ariſe from taking a very ſuperficial view of things. If the men, who ſtarted theſe ideas, and complain of the extent of our colonies, and the greatneſs of our commerce, had read the hiſtory of all colonies, and all the trade that has been carried on in the world, and had reflected on what they read, they would have made

made very different deductions. They would then have found, that the number of ſettlements are never burthenſome in themſelves, but that all weakneſs muſt be looked for at home. When the Portugueſe ſpread themſelves, and built fortreſſes and cities in every corner of the Indies, they did not complain of the burthen of their ſettlements; but now they have, through a want of that ſpirit, made their acquiſitions neglected, and loſt nine tenths of them, they find the remainder ſuch a weight, as to debate whether they ſhould not abandon them. And if ever England falls into the ſame deluſion, ſhe will feel the ſame conſequences. Are Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua burthenſome to this nation? Is the poſſeſſion of Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Maryland, too much for her? Suppoſe ſhe gives up ſome of them, will ſhe better preſerve and make the greater profit of the reſt? She has found difficulties of many ſorts with her colonies, but it has been with thoſe which are ſituated in a climate like her own, and, of courſe, have rivalled her; this was a grand error in the firſt ſettling, but wiſe and active meaſures in transferring the inhabitants would do much to remedy it.

But do the poſſeſſion of all theſe colonies, and her ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, preclude the benefit and propriety of planting others in all the diſtant regions of the world, not yet colonized? None but men of narrow views will reply in the affirmative; all others will, on the contrary, aſſert, that we ought to take every meaſure to increaſe our ſettlements, and extend our commerce, upon the moſt eſſential principal of all, that if we do not go forward, our motion will be retrograde, as it is impoſſible in trade to ſtand ſtill. Our great riches, and important colonies, will naturally make many people ſay, is not this enough, for what ſhould we have more? but there is an inactivity in that content, which ruſts all the ſprings of enterprize, which opens the door to ſloth, and which is much ſurer to deſtroy, than the moſt wild enthuſiaſm of attempting even impoſſibilities. Theſe are but general ideas; but if this was a proper opportunity of expatiating more particularly upon objections, and giving them the faireſt play, it would be extremely eaſy to refute them; and to ſhew, that no extent of colony, no commerce, however immenſe, ought in England to be eſteemed enough; but that an activity ſhould ever be kept up, and every meaſure

meaſure followed, which promiſed faireſt for continuing the ſame conduct that raiſed the trade. But to return:

Upon another occaſion, in which I had the honour of a converſation with the Count de Smikelane, I ventured to enquire into the motives of their King's journey to England, where he was at this time; and the account he gave me is as follows. There had been ſeveral propoſitions made to the miniſter for further improvements in agriculture and manufactures, moſt of which were built on the reports of ſome perſons whom they had ſent, and on whoſe judgment they could rely, into England. They were more than once examined in the King's preſence, and this is ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe of his journey; for he ſoon after mentioned the ſcheme to M. d'Orlore, and ſaid, that utility and pleaſure might be very well intermixed in ſuch a plan. However, it was ſoon after determined on, much againſt the inclination of the miniſters. Certainly there may be ſeveral good conſequences reſult from the journey. He has ſeveral people with him, who are very able to remark, in all the uſeful arts, what will be moſt ſuitable to Denmark; and if his majeſty's attendants are careful to make the journey a leſſon to him

on the great importance of a high degree of cultivation; of flouriſhing manufactures; of an equal liberty, ſpringing from a mild government; and of the happineſs of the lower claſſes of a nation, there is no doubt, but Denmark will be the better for the journey; but if he hurries from place to place without minutely attending to any thing; and if the plan, which had its origin in utility, ends only in a ſcheme of pleaſure, it cannot but be attended with pernicious conſequences, for it will, in the firſt place, be very expenſive; and in the ſecond, it will introduce into his court many luxurious methods of expence, of which he would otherwiſe have remained in ignorance. But how it will turn out, we ſhall by and by ſee.

During my ſtay at Copenhagen, which was about three weeks, I had the uncommon ſatisfaction of being much with this excellent nobleman, and of converſing with him upon various ſubjects relative to the preſent ſtate of Denmark; and in all of them I found him a man of very ſuperior knowledge and ideas. I gained abundance of good information from him, which proved not a little entertaining to me, and I hope not leſs inſtructive to the reader.

Before

Before I conclude what I have to ſay on this kingdom, and its inhabitants, I muſt beg leave to remark, that moſt of the perſons with whom I converſed concerning them, generally quoted Mr. Moleſworth, whoſe book has been tranſcribed over and over again by every author that has written any thing concerning Denmark; but almoſt every circumſtance to be gathered from that writer, is changed eſſentially ſince his time; inſomuch, that although his book is a very able performance, yet it is little more than an old almanack for turning to, to gain information of the preſent times; for I do not apprehend, there is a kingdom in Europe in which greater changes have been made. The reader is therefore deſired not to wonder at the accounts I have given, and am about to give, being in many particulars directly contrary to the aſſertions made by that gentleman.

From all the opportunities I have had of ſeeing and converſing with the Danes, which I have done with all ranks, they appear to be a brave, courteous, and humane people. The ſuperior claſſes are of an high ſpirit, and have as much vivacity in them as any people in Europe, the French alone excepted. They are ſhewy and fond of magni-

ficence, and live in a mean between the Engliſh and the Germans, more ſumptuous than the latter, but not with ſuch a general conſiſtency as the former; but I ſpeak here of their nobility only. In their dreſs, the French faſhions are principally followed, and the language of that nation is alſo univerſal among them. In their houſes, they are expenſive not only in the architecture, but alſo in the furniture, exceeding in this reſpect the Germans, but not equalling the Engliſh; who, I take it, furniſh their houſes in general far better than any nation in the world. At their tables, they reſemble the Germans moſt for cookery, but do not ſet ſo long at their meals. In Germany, four courſes and a deſert will hold, upon a moderate computation, four hours and an half, which in England is diſpatched in one; but the Danes are between the two, ſeldom riſing however under the two hours. Some of the nobility are very expenſive in French cooks, but it is not general. In their wines, they are particularly curious; nor do I in any country remember taſting a greater variety, or better of the ſort. Their tables are admirably well ſerved with fiſh, particularly of freſh water; and the ſea fiſh is in great abundance, though not of

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the beſt ſorts. Wild fowl they abound greatly in, and have a greater variety than we in England. Their veniſon is excellent; but their butcher's meat is not, on the whole, to be compared to that of the Engliſh. All the rich nobility have hot houſes, and hot walls, fronted with glaſs, in their gardens; yet for want of a complete knowledge in the management of the plants, their fruit in general is bad. In other ſorts of proviſions, they are upon a par with their neighbours; and their importations of various eatables of luxury have much increaſed of late years.

If an account is taken in all theſe particulars of the next claſs of the people, the gentry, there will appear a vaſtly greater difference between them and the ſame rank in England, than between the Daniſh and the Engliſh nobility. They are not ſo comfortable in their circumſtances, ſcarce any of them are the maſters of ſuch eſtates as to carry them almoſt to a par with the nobles which is ſo common in our country. Conſidering that a great part of the nobility make a very handſome figure, the gentry do not proportionally equally them.

The lower claſſes are not comparable to ours, in eaſe and happineſs; but they are by no means in that ſtate of abſolute ſla-

very they were in Mr. Moleſworth's time. Several edicts and regulations have been publiſhed by the crown for reſtraining the antient villainage; and a great number of caſes ſpecified, in which they gain their freedom; and as to the lower inhabitants of towns and cities, they have the ſame freedom as in other abſolute countries.

Reſpecting the perſons and manners of the lower claſſes, they are generally as well made and as ſtout as the Germans; they make good ſoldiers, and with any gentle uſage, are very docile and tractable. Their manners have nothing of diſguſting brutality in them; they are in the villages, ignorant and clowniſh; but I have travelled through ſeveral countries, where the poor people are much more contemptible. With proper inſtruction, I believe there are none in Europe, would make better huſbandmen and farmers; for all the peaſants, whether free or not, are little farmers; and many of them manage their ſmall ſpots of ground in ſuch a manner, that there can be no doubt, but under more favourable circumſtances, they would equal their neighbours in every thing belonging to the culture of the earth.

The Daniſh army finds employment for many young men of ſmall fortune, who

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ſerve in order to gain a genteel maintenance; and the employments about the court, of the lower ſort, provide for others; ſome apply themſelves to trade voluntarily, in order to raiſe fortunes, and freely embark for the Eaſt and the Weſt Indies, and in the proſecution of theſe purſuits, they are remarkably diligent and indefatigable; and very many of ſuch as ſeek their fortunes abroad, return home with very good ones, eſpecially ſince the late encouragement that has been given to commerce; for during theſe latter reigns, there has been a regular attention to every thing that could promote the intereſts of trade; and no acts of injuſtice or oppreſſion, againſt thoſe who have bettered their circumſtances by any kind of induſtry, have been known in the crown, or ſuffered in any of the great men.

In their diverſions, the Danes follow the faſhions of the French and Engliſh; cards make a greater progreſs than formerly, and the wives of the nobility, and of ſuch other claſſes as can afford it, have at Copenhagen their aſſemblies almoſt as regularly as any at London. The men are great chefs players; it is a game they are very fond of, and which is more commonly introduced at their viſits than in England; billiards and tennis

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are alſo common at Copenhagen. The theatre is French, though they have lately eſtabliſhed a Daniſh one, where pieces tranſlated from the Engliſh and French are indifferently performed; attempts have been made for an Italian opera, but with no ſucceſs.

Learning of all kinds is but at a lowebb; to ſay the truth, the encouragement, which has flowed amply from the crown, during the two laſt reigns, has been almoſt excluſively in favour of objects of utility. Trade, manufactures, and agriculture, have been much more attended to than the cultivation of literature and the ſciences; though an academy was founded, but it has not been very productive. The laws of Denmark are very famous for their brevity and excellence, ſo that Mr. Moleſworth thought them almoſt the only object worthy of attention in this kingdom. I made many enquires on this head, and am convinced, from the information I received on very good authority, that the only excellence they contain, is that of freeing the ſubject from long and expenſive ſuits; but then it is no more than fair on the other hand to obſerve, that their brevity leaves ſo much in the breaſt of the judge, that he is little more than a delegate

legate of deſpotiſm. I cannot by any means agree with the abovementioned gentleman, that this brevity, with ſuch an attendant circumſtance, is at all enviable. The throne of Denmark has, of late years, been filled with three or four very able princes, who have ſhewn, in every department of the ſtate, ſuch a ſpirited conduct, with ſo much attention to the welfare of their ſubjects, that I have no doubt, but the laws have been well and impartially executed; and while ſuch a tight hand is held over all orders of the people in power, of whatſoever kind, I can eaſily conceive many bleſſings to flow from theſe ſhort laws; but what would they be under a weak or a wicked Prince, or even under a negligent one? Is it not ſufficiently plain, that the weakeſt would, in every inſtance, go to the wall; and that the power, which neceſſarily reſts in the judge, would, in very many inſtances, be flagrantly abuſed? The evils which flow from the voluminouſneſs of our laws, are certainly many and very great, but they vaniſh from one's ideas when compared with the miſeries that muſt reſult from the Daniſh ſyſtem; which nevertheſs is very well adapted for an abſolute monarchy, but utterly inconſiſtent with real liberty.

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In the fine arts, the Danes are no proficients; I will not attribute this wholly to climate, though there is certainly much in that cauſe, but they have not encouragement enough to make any progreſs; the kingdom is too poor to yield a market even to great portrait painters; nothing can ever carry the fine, which, in fact, are the luxurious arts, to any degree of height, but a period full of wealth; in which luxury abounds to an high degree, and wherein the artiſts may find plenty of employment from the great and rich, and be at the ſame time very well paid for it. The only art that makes any decent figure at Copenhagen, is muſic, which flouriſhes pretty much at their concerts; I have heard ſeveral very capital German and Italian performers there, who met with pretty good encouragement.

Copenhagen principally flouriſhes from the reſidence of the court: this is much the moſt brilliant object in Denmark, by the accounts they gave me, for I had no opportunity of viewing it myſelf. There are many great officers of ſtate, with conſiderable appointments; theſe, with the numerous inferior ones, and the guards, muſt render the town very gay. The

Daniſh

Daniſh army is kept in very good order, and well diſciplined; the men are picked, and their cloathing is in general very neat. I before mentioned, that they are not all embodied at a time, but they could draw together, at no long notice, about 40,000 men, with a fine train of artillery, and all ſtores proportioned. This renders the King a reſpectable monarch, in the military light, among the powers of the North; and has certainly been one reaſon for the long peace, in which two or three very wiſe Kings have kept their dominions. Denmark has nothing to fear from any of its neighbours, except Ruſſia, with whom ſhe cannot compare in force; and the diſputes that have long ſubſiſted between the crown of Denmark and the Duke of Holſtein, would have brought her into no little trouble, had Ruſſia interfered, and called upon her for an immediate ſettlement of them: whether this is likely to happen, cannot be aſcertained; but certainly, the ſituation will remain very diſagreeable and precarious, until it is compleatly decided. As the government of Sweden is now modelled, Denmark is an over-match for her. But in any quarrel with the powers of the Baltick, Denmark would find her fleet of the greateſt

uſe,

uſe, in preſerving her from the reſentment of Ruſſia, for the navy of this kingdom is much ſuperior to that of the Ruſſian empire in every particular; in number and goodneſs of the ſhips, in artillery, order, ſeamen, magazines, &c. and the harbour of Copenhagen is beyond compariſon better than that of Peterſburgh, or any other port belonging to the Ruſſians on the Baltick; ſo that it would be no eaſy matter for that empire, with all her ſtrength, to bring it to bear on Denmark; nothing could effect it but making herſelf ſuperior at ſea; and the harbour and docks, &c. at Peterſburgh, are not at all calculated for that end; and I am inclined to believe, from the information I have received, that the crown of Denmark is much better able to increaſe its navy than Ruſſia, and is in poſſeſſion of ten times the hardy, ready-bred ſeamen, ſo that an attentive care to keep himſelf maſter upon the Baltick ſea, will ſecure the King againſt any attempts from Ruſſia, much better than any other means. By land, he is very ſecure, for no Ruſſian army can get at him.

The revenues of Denmark have been increaſing gradually for fifty years; but the two laſt Kings, at the ſame time that they did

did many great things for the good of their ſubjects, and the ornament of their kingdom, and even aboliſhed ſome taxes, that were the moſt burthenſome, greatly improved the royal income. Mr. Moleſworth computed them at ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds year; but they are now, upon the beſt computation I could procure, near one million two hundred thouſand pounds; and in ſome years much exceed that ſum. This appears no great matter in England, but in Denmark it is an immenſe ſum, from the great cheapneſs of every commodity the the crown can want to buy at home. His army, if ſubſidies be reckoned, and the great numbers to whom he finds nothing but arms, coſts him nothing, though there have been ſome years in which Denmark has been without any treaties of ſubſidy. His navy is maintained at a very eaſy rate, the number in conſtant pay, in times of profound peace, is not conſiderable; the reſt are retained by a month's pay in the year, to be ready at a call, and which they find a moſt excellent way; ſo that the expence of the navy is little more than the building and rebuilding ſhips, and filling the ſtores and magazines: an army and navy moſt certainly, is not to be kept for nothing,

or for a trifle. All I mean by theſe obſervations is, that they coſt the King of Denmark incomparably leſs than the uſual ſum allotted in other countries for thoſe ſervices; which makes his revenue, which, at firſt ſight, appeared but ſmall, to be in reality very conſiderable: it is well known that the two laſt Kings ſaved conſiderable ſums out of it, and one of them cleared off all the debts of the crown beſides. Such a circumſtance is eſſential in the hiſtory of the preſent ſtate of a country; for it ſhews in what manner its affairs are conducted, and how well its revenue is able to anſwer all the calls of the ſtate; which is, upon the whole, a great proof that the country is flouriſhing; and perhaps it is one that is not at all equivocal; for I am doubtful, whether great national debts, when they increaſe to an enormous amount, do not bring as much miſchief with them, as they did ſervice to the ſtate in contracting them.

It is alſo to be obſerved here, that the increaſe of the royal revenue of Denmark, has been almoſt ſolely owing to a general improvement in the riches and welfare of the nation, and not, in a ſingle inſtance, to the addition of taxes. The increaſe of trade, the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, and

and the improvement of lands, have all added to the general income of the people, and increaſed the number of the people themſelves; and where taxes are at all general, as they are in Denmark, and indeed in moſt of the countries of Europe, all increaſe of income immediately makes taxes more productive; becauſe the ſame taxes produce more in proportion, as the wealth of the people increaſes, and as they, conſequently, can afford to make a more free uſe of the things and commodities that are taxed. From hence it follows, that Denmark is not to be ſuppoſed poor, in proportion to the increaſe of the King's revenues, but, on the contrary, rich; and while taxes continue without increaſe or alteration, the product of them marks very exactly the general increaſe or decreaſe of the national ſtock and revenue; which is a circumſtance that ſhould never be loſt ſight of, by thoſe who take any trouble in conſidering the ſtate of Denmark.

I may from theſe particulars, which are collected from ſuch information as I had very good reaſon to truſt to, venture to draw this general deduction, that the ſtate of this kingdom is flouriſhing, being in every circumſtance on the improvement. The people increaſe; they are richer; the revenues of the crown is more than doubled,

without the addition of freſh taxes; numerous manufactures are eſtabliſhed; much commerce acquired and encouraged; and, in general, the people are in a far better ſtate and condition than ſome years ago. Theſe facts are of importance to be known; for every man, who wiſhes to be well acquainted with the tranſactions and preſent ſtate of the world, ought to know how theſe circumſtances vary, particularly in the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe, which, it is extremely plain, cannot be learnt from books, written many years ago: all the affairs of a kingdom are liable to change very much, and it is only from freſh intelligence therefore that a juſt idea can be carried on. Nor ſhould the inhabitants of Britain, of France, or of any other great kingdom or empire, moſt intereſted on the theatre of Europe, neglect the affairs of their ſmaller neighbours. The greateſt empires riſe from ſmall beginnings, and the moſt trifling kingdoms ſometimes meet with opportunities for appearing with diſtinguiſhed eclat in the affairs of the world. Denmark is no trifling kingdom; though not conſiderable, when compared with ſome others in Europe. It is for theſe reaſons, that I have dwelt the longer on many particulars concerning it,

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in which the reader cannot gain any juſt intelligence from former books; for old ones are no longer true, and modern travellers have, in general, ſlighted all the North.

Having finiſhed my enquiries at Copenhagen, I took my paſſage for London, in the Anna-Maria, a large ſhip bound for that port, in which I was accommodated with the total uſe of an agreeable cabbin; and having laid in plenty of freſh proviſions for my voyage, made a very good one, bringing over with me, in the ſame ſhip, my new poſtillion, as well as the ſervant I had carried from England: the former was much pleaſed with the idea of ſeeing that country. The climate of Sweden is too cold for winter travelling, I deſigned to ſtay therefore at London till May, and then to return, and begin my travels through that kingdom.

Travels through Sweden.

CHAP. VI.

From Copenhagen to Elſineur—Journey to Gottenburg—Deſcription of the Country and the Huſbandry—Gottenburg—Lake Wener—The State of the Country—To Upſal—Converſations with Sir Charles Linnæus—State of Agriculture in Sweden—Journey to Stockholm.

I Returned from England to Copenhagen, in May 1769, landing at that city the 24th; I waited the following day on M. le Count Smikelane, and afterwads called on the Baron de Roſenburg, but the latter was abſent at his eſtate at Funen; the Count gave me a letter of recommendation to the Baron Milſter at Stockholm. I ſet off for Elſineur the 26th, and not getting out ſo early in the morning as I might have done, loſt my paſſage for that day, and was forced to take my night's lodging at a miſerable inn. Elſineur is a ſmall town, and very poorly built, and only remarkable for being the

place where the Danes oblige ſhips to ſtop, in order to make them pay toll for paſſing the Sound. Near the town is the caſtle of Cronenburg, the cannon of which are ſuppoſed, though very falſely, to command the road; for many are the ſhips that have bid defiance to the guns, and paſſed it toll free.

I ſhould remark, that having ſold my old chaiſe at Copenhagen, upon embarking laſt year for London, I intended to purchaſe another at that place, for equipping me on my Swediſh expedition; but my friend the Count, adviſed me to truſt to the chance of the road till I reached Gottenburg, where I ſhould be able to purchaſe another, much better adapted to the roads of Sweden, which are very ſtoney and mountainous; and this advice I followed, inſtead of ſupplying myſelf again at Copenhagen.

The 27th I croſſed the paſſage, and landed at Elſinburg, a town in the Swediſh province of Schonen, which is tolerably well fortified; the caſtle is a handſome edifice, but I do not take it to be very ſtrong. From Elſinburg I hired horſes to Laholm, which is twenty-four miles diſtance; and for my baggage I hired a cart, called here a waggon.

waggon. This journey I performed very well by night; it lies through a country that is in general flat, of a rich ſoil, and well cultivated; I think better than moſt parts in Denmark. The people are evidently in a very happy and contented ſituation, and I take it, they are more independent, and more at their eaſe, than the Danes, from the plain ſpirit of liberty, which actuates them in their attention, or rather want of attention to ſtrangers; for you do not meet with the ſame civilities here, as on the other ſide of the water: I do not mean eſſential attentions, but thoſe little marks of obligingneſs, which every foreigner looks for in vain in England, where every boor he meets with thinks himſelf as good as a French Duke. Wherever I meet with this, I conclude at once, that I am in a very free country. The peaſants were ploughing their lands, which are all open fields, with oxen, two or three in a plough; and it went, I thought, as deep as I have ſeen four horſes in England, which ſtruck me very much: they ſeem here to be very good huſbandmen.

Upon this firſt mention of the huſbandry in Sweden, let me remark, that during my reſi-

reſidence at London laſt winter, I laid my deſign of a journey through Sweden, the enſuing ſummer, before my friend Mr. Y———, informing him that I had paſſed through Holland, Flanders, part of Germany, and all Denmark; that I had made minutes of the events of my journey, and the obſervations that had appeared moſt important to me; theſe I begged of him to look over; he approved much of my deſign; and I requeſted him to point out thoſe enquiries in agriculture, which would moſt probably turn to account, and give me the beſt information to be gained in my journey through Sweden, Muſcovy, and Poland. That gentleman granted my requeſt in the moſt obliging manner that was poſſible; and among other articles of enquiry, gave me a paper of the following as important. I ſubmitted entirely to his knowledge and judgment, in this matter, being myſelf ignorant of the practice of agriculture, and obliged to repeated enquiries for the little knowledge I have of it.

"Take notice of the ſoil, particularly as to the grand diſtinctions of clay, ſand, and rocky; of chalk, I believe they have none in Sweden.

"The

" The crops they cultivate deſerve notice, and the ſucceſſion in which they caſt them.

" The product is always of conſequence to know.

" The ſort and application of manures ſhould be attended to.

" The winter food of cattle, in that cold climate, is of eſſential conſequence to know.

" I need not mention the general ſtate of farms, reſpecting the number of hands, cattle, and products, proportioned to the given quantities of land; this muſt certainly ſtrike you, as an eſſential object of enquiry; but you will not often be able to gain the intelligence you wiſh in it."

I was glad to find, that my friend had pointed out ſeveral enquiries that I had made the preceding year in Flanders, Germany, and Denmark; had I been fortunate enough to have made the practice of this uſeful ſcience earlier my ſtudy, I ſhould have been able to have given much more valuable and diſtinct accounts; but nevertheleſs, the enquiries which a perſon, ignorant as I am, in paſſing through a country which has ſcarcely ever been travelled, except on buſineſs, muſt have ſome uſe in them;

them; and accordingly I ſhall not fail to make memorandums of the objects, which appear moſt ſtriking to me, and which my ingenious friend's memorandums point out.

Laholm has nothing in it worthy of the leaſt notice: the next morning, viz. the 28th, I took horſes to Helmſtadt, at the diſtance of twelve miles, ſtill continuing in a level country, which appeared very fruitful; all the country was in motion, tillage was every where going on for barley and oats, &c. Helmſtadt is a port town, where there ſeems to be ſome trade by the ſhipping I ſaw in the harbour; but it is not a conſiderable place. From hence I reached Ragelin by dinner, the diſtance of ſix and twenty miles, through a country ſimilar to the preceding; it is near a coaſt, but there are ſome higher grounds, which are principally ſand banks, and which they plough and ſow with various ſorts of grain: there are likewiſe ſome marſhes of vaſt extent, which, I was informed, were applied to fattening oxen, which are brought from the breeding country of the mountains, and having lived in general hardily, they fatten very quickly in theſe marſhes; from the beſt intelligence I could get, I found that they

they turned the beaſts into them about the beginning of June, and they were generally fat by the end of Auguſt: an ox, that, by my gueſs would weigh forty ſtone Engliſh weight, 14lb. to the ſtone, requires as much marſh as amounts to the portion of two Engliſh acres to fatten him; but then there will be a little food afterwards for the farmers cows. The Swediſh farmers hire them at about twelve ſhillings Engliſh an acre, and reckon them more profitable than their arable lands.

It is twelve miles from Ragelin to Gottenburg, which I rode in the afternoon, but my baggage was not to arrive till the next day at night. In this journey, which I have taken to Gottenburg, I have reaſon to praiſe the punctuality, civility, and cleanlineſs, of the Swediſh innkeepers. I have not received, in any inſtance, the leaſt reaſon for complaint; they are very expeditious in getting ready poſt-horſes, and poſtillions, who are never ſaucy or diſobliging, although they live in a free country; for in ſuch reſpects, I have generally found it moſt agreeable travelling in kingdoms under an arbitrary government: our own country, however, is another exception, for in the world, there is not ſuch another to travel in; and beſides,

beſides, the infinite ſuperiority of our roads to thoſe of any other country, makes it, beyond all compariſon, more delightful; from the little I have as yet ſeen of the roads in Sweden, I doubt I ſhall not have much reaſon to praiſe them, they ſeem to have ſcarcely any repairs.

Gottenburg is a very conſiderable ſea port town, and from its ſituation much exceeds any other in Sweden for trade; yet there is not ſo much commerce carried on here as at Stockholm; formerly Nordkopping exceeded it, but the eſtabliſhment of the Swediſh Eaſt India company here has been of very great advantage to it, by bringing much other trade; ſo that now it is the ſecond port in Sweden. They have here large magazines and warehouſes, with an exceeding good dock for building, repairing, and careening their ſhips. There are alſo at Gottenburg ſeveral tolerable churches; and among other buildings, the arſenal and the town-houſe are pretty conſiderable. The commerce of this place is very thriving, and the number of ſhips belonging to it have, for theſe twenty years laſt paſt, been much upon the increaſe. Indeed, trade ſeems to be getting much more amongſt theſe northern nations than formerly. At Gotten-

burg,

burg, I purchaſed a Swediſh chaiſe and a pair of horſes; they told me, I ſhould find four neceſſary, but I thought I might as well truſt to poſt ones for a pair, for the ſake of having a guide in the poſtillion. The 30th, in the morn, I ſet off and breakfaſted at Bahus, about eight miles diſtance, which is ſituated on an iſland in a river; it is a romantic place, and pretty fortified well for Sweden, which does not abound with very regular fortifications.

From Bahus I expected to reach Lidkopping by night, but was diſappointed; they told me, the diſtance was only ſeven and thirty miles, but, inſtead of which, it is more than fifty; I was therefore forced to ſet up my bed at a village twenty miles ſhort, where I met with very civil, decent people; but the landlord's chief dependance was on his huſbandry, for he was a pretty conſiderable farmer: his houſe ſtands on a riſing ground, commanding a good view of lake Wener, which is a vaſt water, above fourſcore miles long, and in ſome places near forty broad. He ſhewed me from his door all his farm, which is to be ſeen very diſtinctly on the ſide of his hill; with ſome difficulty, and with the help of my interpreter, I made a near gueſs at the meaſure of

of it, and judge his farm about one hundred acres Engliſh, and for which he pays a rent of two and twenty pounds. He generally has twelve acres of wheat, and thrice as many of oats, with twenty of the Swediſh turnip, which is a very large, hardy plant, that grows under ground like a turnip, with broad ſpreading leaves from it, of the colour of cabbage leaves; this plant, my landlord informed me, never was hurt by the ſharpeſt ſeverity of their winters, and they depended on it principally for the winter ſuſtenance of the cattle. I further found, that one acre of it was ſufficient to carry three head of cattle through the winter, with the aſſiſtance of ſome ſtraw and hay, if the crop was very good; but if only moderate, not more than two head, and that many acres would not ſerve more than one. That they made their land very fine, to receive the ſeed, and generally dunged it well; if the ſeed comes up too thick, they thin the plants; but if it comes up regular, and as it ſhould, they then leave it. I aſked if they beſtowed no culture in hoeing or cleaning, while the crop was growing; he ſaid only weeding by hand. They reckon the culture of it a good preparation for oats, of which they get fine crops; and, as well as I could

could make out, about three quarters and and half from an Engliſh acre. Wheat they have only attempted to cultivate of late years, but have had much better ſucceſs than they had expected. He told me, all their farmers now had every year a field of wheat, provided their lands were not of a very inferior ſort: the crops generally yield about two quarters an acre, ſeldom more. The ſoil here is various, but in general, the fields they plough, are of a reddiſh loam on clay or flints, and in ploughing carries a good countenance. Their favourite ſoil is a ſort of reddiſh loam; when about eight inches deep, on a regular bed of rock, then they ſay they are ſure of getting corn enough; but what this is owing to, I cannot conjecture. In reſpect to their cattle, they have ſmall oxen and cows, but the latter yield well in milk, and they reckon them the moſt profitable animal they keep; there are ſome ſheep here, but not in great numbers; they do not think them advantageous, unleſs they have a very large range for them to wander about; their herds are fed in ſummer in meadows, which are generally the bottom grounds between the hills, and fertile enough.

The 31ſt, I reached Lidkopping by breakfaſt; the road was very bad, but this ugly circumſtance was made amends for by the amazing fine views I commanded, moſt part of the way, of Lake Wener; this country is, in general, beautifully romantic; the hills are not awfully great, and the vales are numerous, ſo that the whole is well diverſified. From Lidkopping to Marieſtadt, is about twenty miles, which I reached ſo late in the afternoon that I could not venture further that night. This line of country is yet more beautiful than the former, for the lake enlarges itſelf all the way, till you can ſcarcely ſee the oppoſite ſhore; and at Marieſtadt, there is one way in which nothing can be diſcerned with the naked eye but ſky and water. The creeks and promontories alſo, which break the ſhore of the lake in this line, make it remarkably ſtriking. In the evening I repeated my enquiries, upon the ſubject of their huſbandry, and I found, that in the neighbourhood of Marieſtadt were ſeveral gentlemens ſeats, who cultivated conſiderable tracks of land themſelves, and that ſome of them had to the amount of ſix hundred acres; that they did it by means of bailiffs, and paid the peaſants for all the work, except what was performed by ſervants,

vants kept in their houſes. Much wheat is cultivated here, but all is ſown in the ſpring, if it may be ſo called, for ſummer ſucceeds the winter ſo quickly, that their ſpring is of very ſhort duration; they are equally fond of the Swediſh turnip here as their neighbours with whom I lodged laſt night; but the account is ſomething different, for they allot an acre of it to every head of cattle they winter, but which feeds their hogs beſides. Swine is a principal article with them, they make a great profit by keeping large herds in the low grounds on the banks of the lake, where they get wild roots in ſuch abundance, that great numbers are maintained on them, without any coſt to their owners. The crop of oats here is generally about three quarters and an half per acre; wheat, in general, not more than two; but ſome good lands have been known to yield four; they know not of any other huſbandry here, than fallowing for that grain.

June the firſt, I ſet out for Ruſcog, at thirty miles diſtance, but from the badneſs of the roads did not get there before night. The country is much the ſame as what I had paſſed; they were manuring many fields in it for ſowing with Swediſh turnips, which

are an article of culture that increaſes much among them; ſome farmers, with whom I converſed, informed me, that they enabled them to keep large ſtocks of cattle in winter, which they fed in the ſummer on the marſhes; a ſyſtem which is more profitable, they aſſert, than any other; keeping great numbers of cattle, they think, is much more advantageous than growing corn; which I did not comprehend clearly, as grain ſells well among them; but they explained it very well to me by ſaying, that without the aſſiſtance of their cattle in raiſing dung, they ſhould be able to grow but very poor crops of corn; that their ſoil was not ſo rich as in ſome provinces, where they could get wheat upon land that had never been dunged. Their ſpeaking of dunging reminded me of enquiring after their manures; and I found their favourite one is wood aſhes, of which they lay great quantities on heaps, mixing it very often with earth. Wood is ſo very plentiful among them, that it is of very ſmall value; and their way of reducing wood land to corn land, is, to agree with their landlord for ſuch a quantity of waſte wood land; then they cut it down, and grub up all the roots, and reduce every thing to aſhes, of which they get ſo vaſt a quantity, that

that one acre will yield enough to manure not only itſelf, but alſo two others of their old land; and they eſteem this method ſo much, that if the land is well covered with wood, they will give from five to ſeven pounds ſterling per acre, for liberty to uſe it in this manner; and, after two years, a regular rent per acre for the land beſides.

Ruſcog is a ſmall place, prettily ſituated upon the banks of a branch of Lake Wener; but it has not any thing that is worthy of notice. Here, as well as at all the places I ſtopped at, near the lake, I feaſted on tench, which they have of a fine colour and admirable flavour, weighing from one pound to three; the freſh water fiſh of all ſorts are ſo good and plentiful in Sweden, that they make travelling wonderfully agreeable. It is like carrying a fine fiſh-pond with us wherever we go.

The ſecond I got to Orebro, the diſtance thirty ſix miles, through a country that appears to be in general pretty good and fertile. There are many tracks I paſſed which are in cultivation, and the ſoil good; moſt of the vales are either meadow or rich arable. Orebro is a ſmall town, ſituated on another lake, which is a pretty one, and hath ſeveral woody iſlands in it, that make

a beautiful appearance. Here alſo I had fine fiſh, and at a very cheap rate; indeed every thing is very low priced quite from Bahus hither. All the line of country, from Gottenburg to Orebro, is tolerably peopled; the villages are not thick, but I have gone through many countries where they are much thinner, and you paſs in no part of it for many miles over continued tracks of heaths and moors without any cultivation; on the contrary, the vales between the hills are generally in culture, and where the land is tolerable, there are not many ſpots without ſome farms and cottages near them.

On the third, I got to Aroſia; the diſtance is forty ſeven miles, through a country ſimilar to that I had paſſed, but amazingly interſected with branches and creeks of Lake Meler. I dined at a little inn, a ſingle houſe, about half way, where I had, according to cuſtom, excellent fiſh; you dine very well in this country, wine included, for five ſhillings, and upon diſhes which would come to fifteen or twenty at the inns between London and Bath, excluſive of wine. I was at firſt troubled in this journey with their cookery, for they fried the fiſh in greaſe, not butter, and ſeemed to have an admirable hand at converting a good diſh into a moſt beaſtly

beaſtly one. My man Martin, who had travelled with me through France and Italy, and had made four campaigns, was not at a loſs in the ſcience of cookery, and took upon himſelf the direction of the kitchen, while it was employed in providing for my table; by which means, I was always ſure not only to find good fiſh, but cookery equally excellent; and this is a circumſtance which I would adviſe every gentleman to remember, who undertakes the tour of Sweden.

I arrived at Upſal on the fourth, the diſtance is 24 miles; the country I paſſed was much cut by branches of the Lake Meler, but the huſbandry was rather better than what I had travelled through before. They gain two quarters and an half of wheat per acre, and four quarters of oats; they ſow ſome barley, which is a grain very little cultivated in Sweden, and of which I had before received no intelligence; they ſow it inſtead of oats after their turnips, ploughing twice for it, and the crops they get amount ſometimes to four quarters per acre, ſeldom leſs than three; but I ſhould obſerve, that the ſoil, upon which they ſow it, is their beſt, and at the ſame time very well manured. Some peaſants, I converſed with, ſaid,

they did not like barley, they thought oats paid them much better; but they called it a new faſhion, and ſaid, that ſome of their great farmers liked it for that reaſon. But the truth ſeemed rather to be, that theſe peaſants diſliked it, becauſe it was not an old one. Relative to the winter food of cattle, they informed me, that the moſt approved method they had among them, was to take up their turnips in September, to cut off the tops and the roots, and to ſtow them in caverns in the ſides of their hills, for winter uſe. I ſaid, that the farmers, with whom I had converſed on my journey from Gottenburg, had not mentioned any ſuch practice. They replied, that they did not uſe the method, but that it was nevertheleſs much the beſt. They allow two beaſts to an acre of turnips, with aſſiſtance from ſtraw, &c. They manure their meadows with wood aſhes, gained in the manner I mentioned above, and aſſured me, that they found it much the moſt advantageous way: Three acres of meadow will fatten a large ox.

Upſal is a conſiderable town, on a branch of the Lake Meler; there is nothing in it ſo worthy of notice as the famous Sir Charles Linnæus, the head of the univerſity here; and

and whoſe fame in natural hiſtory is as great as that of Charles the Twelfth for his victories. I had no letters of recommendation to this celebrated profeſſor, and what was worſe, I was no botaniſt. However, I thought he would not ſlight my compliment, if I deſigned to wait on him, as a mere Engliſh gentleman, travelling in Sweden through curioſity. Accordingly I wrote a card to him, ſignifying myſelf a gentleman from England, on his travels through Sweden, who was ſo unfortunate as not to have any letters of recommendation to him, but who would be extremely happy in being admitted to his converſation. I had a moſt polite and obliging anſwer, requeſting my company to ſpend the evening that night at his apartments in the college, which I obeyed with very great readineſs. The old man received me with much civility, and kindneſs; he enquired my motives for viſiting Sweden; a country, he ſaid, ſo much ſlighted by the generality of travellers. I told him, that was the circumſtance which had moſt engaged me in the deſign of travelling through it; for I had paſſed through France, Italy, and the beſt part of Germany long ago; but that finding the accounts of the northern kindoms of Europe, ſo very imperfect

perfect and deficient in the moſt eſſential parts, I had a ſtrong curioſity to make myſelf perſonally acquainted with them. He commended me for the idea, but ſaid, that I ſhould not find much matter of entainment in Sweden, if I travelled in purſuit of fine buildings, pictures, and ſtatues. To which I anſwered, that theſe were not the objects of my enquiries, nor of my curioſity; that I found entertainment in making myſelf acquainted with the agriculture of the countries I paſſed through, with the various practices of the peaſants in the management of their cattle and crops; alſo in the ſtate of manufactures, and the ſucceſs of commerce, and that I thought the manners of the people of a country more worthy attention than fine ſtatues; and that their cuſtoms pleaſed me much better than pictures. Your ſentiments, Sir, ſaid he, are very rational; and if ſuch objects can give you any pleaſure, you may find entertainment in Sweden. I ſuppoſe you have made natural hiſtory your ſtudy? This was a queſtion which hurt me not a little; however, I owned my ignorance with the beſt grace I could, but regretted it at the ſame time. Sir Charles ſhewed himſelf by the ſucceeding part of the converſation, to be as polite as learned; for finding

finding that I was no naturaliſt, he converſed on ſuch matters as he found I had made enquiries after, and particularly of agriculture. He gave me ſeveral opportunities of making enquiries of him, concerning ſome points in the huſbandry of the country, about which I want to be informed. I aſked him concerning the advantages of the Swediſh turnip, and the account he gave me was as follows: It is a plant that came to us originally from Lapland; obſerve ſaid he, I mean relative to common cultivation, for if I ſpeak of it botanically, I ſhould name it as the production of many other countries; our farmers had it from thence; from thence it ſpread by degrees through the northern provinces of the kingdom, and was found of more uſe than all other winter plants put together; the great property of it, is reſiſting the ſharpeſt and moſt continued froſts, which we have in this country; ſo that I have myſelf known the ſoil of a field of them, frozen a yard deep, and yet the crop not to ſuffer the leaſt damage. Beſides this, cattle are remarkably fond of them, and will thrive on them better than on any other winter plant with which our farmers are acquainted. It is further a very hardy plant, reſpecting cultivation, not requiring

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any attention that is beyond the ability of the common farmers to give. It loves a deep, rich ſoil, and pays the farmer well for dung; the crops of it are ſometimes very conſiderable. I have ſeen crops of them, even in the mountains of Dalecarlia, in which the plants, one with another, weighed four pounds, and ſome ſingle plants roſe up ſo high as twelve pounds; and I have no doubt, if the farmers would give better tillage while they are growing, but they would riſe on an average to eight or nine pounds. They reckon an acre to be ſufficient to maintain, during winter, from one to four head of cattle; but you ſhould obſerve, that this variation is not ſo much from difference of produce, as that of management; many of the farmers giving their cattle but a certain allowance of the turnip a day, and the other part of their food is either ſtraw or hay; and ſome of the moſt judicious among them, have aſſured me, that the cattle do not thrive or keep themſelves fat and well, in proportion to the quantity of green meat they have, for very many will do as well with a ſtated allowance, made up with eating as much ſtraw as they like, as if they had nothing but turnips; and which is a point very material to be known among them, and, indeed, in all other

other countries, where a ſimilar œconomy is carried on. One of the greateſt advantages of the culture of this root is, its being as good a preparation for corn as a fallow of mere ploughing, which is an object of infinite importance; but the farmers do not give it ſuch fair play as they ought, for the culture they beſtow, while it is growing, is only to pluck out the weeds by hand; whereas they ought to hoe them, as they do turnips in England; but a better plan would be on your countryman Tull's principle, to horſe hoe them in rows, by which means the ground would be much better pulverized.

The memoirs of the times have certainly told you, Sir, that not many years ago, Sweden produced no wheat, and it might almoſt be ſaid with truth, that the quantity in her beſt provinces was ſo ſmall, that Livonia and Poland nearly ſupplied her; and much came alſo in ſome years even from England. Seeing this conſtant importation, I, among others, made repreſentations to the government, to ſhew that it was entirely through ignorance in our farmers, that they did not raiſe wheat enough for us, without the kingdom ſuffering ſuch a continual drain of money. I was applied to for the means

means of bringing in the culture, and I recommended particularly, the reducing the importation of it by degrees, till it came to nothing, and which might be done by proportioning duties upon it, and laſt of all, a prohibition; that ſmall bounties ſhould be diſtributed through all the provinces to thoſe farmers, who entered moſt into the culture of it; and inſtructions ſent them for conducting themſelves. All this was executed at a very ſmall expence; nor is it eaſily to be believed, how quickly they took to the culture of wheat; for having once found it more profitable to them than any other grain, and of a much readier market, they never afterwards failed of having a portion of their arable land under this crop. I ſhould not have met with ſo ready a compliance with the method I propoſed, had it not been for an accidental event, which happened juſt before I made the repreſentations. Livonia and Poland had almoſt loſt their crops for two ſucceſſive years, which made this kingdom principally depend on England; and from whence our import had been very regular, but in the laſt of thoſe years, you laid an embargo upon your corn, and we were compleatly left in the lurch, inſomuch that the Dutch brought us wheat over from

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the Mediterranean. Seeing that we had no regular dependancy even on England, gave a greater weight to my memorials than they would otherwiſe have had, and I queſtion if I ſhould have ſucceeded, at leaſt of many years, if the prohibition of exportation had not happened as in England it did.

But at preſent, Sir, we experience very few years, in which we do not raiſe wheat enough for our own conſumption; and the farmers find it as profitable to them as it is in other countries, though our crops are not ſo plentiful in general as in warmer climates. Upon our beſt lands, and in ſheltered ſituations, we have ſometimes very fine crops; and I believe you will, in moſt places, find, that they raiſe from one and an half to three quarters upon an acre; but they never ſow it, except in the beſt fields of a farm; and our farms have not all of them land ſuitable to the culture of it, oats are with us the moſt general crop, though there are large products of peaſe, but eſpecially of beans, gained in ſome of the provinces.

The article, in which you will find them moſt deficient, is graſſes; very few of the farmers know any thing of the artificial graſſes, except clover, and not a twentieth part of the kingdom know even that; in

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their meadows they are extremely careleſs of the herbage, not knowing it to be a matter of any conſequence; but are very well ſatisfied if they find a large growth, no matter of what. Hence reſults many loſſes to them, their cattle underſtand the point much better; and if they could chooſe, would, but unfortunately they muſt eat what they are turned into or ſtarve; in ſome inſtances, however, they will freely eat of herbs very pernicious to them. For want of better underſtanding this part of their buſineſs, our peaſants very often find their herd deceive them, and yield very little milk, when they expect a great deal; or prove lean at a time that they ought to have been fat. The low grounds in Sweden are generally converted to paſturage, and many of them are little better than bogs and marſhes; but which, properly drained and cultivated, would turn out moſt advantageous meadow, and yet you will ſee great tracks of ſuch in a very waſte condition.

To this I remarked, that it was no ways ſurprizing, when there were ſuch numerous, unimproved waſtes even in my own country; more ſtill in France, and numerous ones in the beſt climates, richeſt ſoils, and freeſt governments in Europe. This, I obſerved,

obſerved, was a moſt remarkable fact, and well worthy of his reflection.

It is not ſo remarkable, replied this gentleman, as at firſt ſight it appears. Improvements of waſte lands make but a very ſlow progreſs in any country, where they are the property of private perſons; but what an amazing figure do ſuch works make in America, where the waſte is open for every man to take as much as he pleaſes in fee ſimple, paying only moderate fines? But where waſtes belong to private perſons, and make part of the eſtates of princes, nobles, and gentlemen, improvements muſt be ſlow for many reaſons; ſuch perſons have generally methods enough of ſpending their fortunes, without doing any good; they cannot afford, or at leaſt they will not afford the neceſſary expenditure in buildings, incloſures, and other previous works, neceſſary to convert a waſte into farms for whoever will hire them. This method of doing the buſineſs muſt therefore neceſſarily be very ſlow. Beſides ſuch perſons are extremely tenacious of the rights, properties, juriſdiction, &c. of their waſtes, and will very ſeldom give a man leave to do all theſe works for himſelf, with a perpetual leaſe, that he and his heirs for ever may be the better for his labours,

ſo that how, and by whom are waſtes to be improved? It is evident they can be done but very ſlowly; now and then a landlord, who happens to be a ſaving man, forms a new farm; accidentally too a farmer will be at the expence of improvement with a tenure of but a moderate length; and ſome gentlemen, that have waſtes very near their reſidence, are induced to improve them, becauſe of their vicinity; it is thus that, by ſlow degrees, waſtes are improved; and it muſt ſtrike every perſon that theſe cauſes are very weak, compared with the vaſt extent of them in moſt countries. Great progreſs will no where be made, without laws being particularly enacted, to force proprietors to grant leaſes of waſtes to whoever will be at the expence of improving them.

The way in which Sir Charles accounted for the exiſtence of ſo much waſte land in every country, pleaſed me much; as it is the only one in which I ever heard a ſatisfactory account given. Upon my aſking him concerning the general ſtate of huſbandry at preſent in Sweden, whether it was in an improving way in moſt particulars. He replied:

The beſt, and indeed, the only way of judging of that, with any degree of preci-

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ſion, is by attending to the variations in the value of land; we have found that in Sweden, land in general has increaſed in price gradually for above forty years, and for the laſt twenty years, in a more rapid manner than before; this has been owing to our raiſing many commodities at home, which we formerly bought of our neighbours; among which wheat (as I mentioned before) is the chief; and it is alſo owing very much to the wiſe encouragement, that trade and manufactures have received of late years, which has brought much money into the country, and given a new value to every thing. Now, Sir, land could not ſell better than formerly, without money being more plenty, or our huſbandry being better; for the value of the ſoil depends not only on the quantity of money in the country, but alſo on the value of the products, and they are affected only by variations in cultivation. But at the ſame time that I am clear, our agriculture is in general much improved, I am alſo clear, that we are many, very many degrees from the perfection to which we might eaſily with a ſpirited attention arrive: and this we ſhould do, if we attended more to certain points of encouragement, which would be eaſy to give our huſbandry.

Upon my mentioning the pleaſure it would give me to hear his ſentiments upon this head, he very readily went on in the following manner:

Incloſing is pretty well known in Sweden, but not practiced ſo much by any means as it ought to be. In this our beſt huſbandmen agree, and the practice of England confirms the idea, to be the only means of having any valuable improvements carried on effectively; but our landlords and farmers are equally averſe to any expences beyond thoſe certain ones of the day, which they cannot eſcape; now this can only be remedied by the legiſlative power, which ought to oblige all proprietors to incloſe their fields in ſome ſubſtantial manner, and to enable them, at the ſame time, to raiſe their rents upon their tenants ſufficiently to pay good intereſts for the ſums expended; and I would have them limited, not to make larger incloſures than one hundred acres. This meaſure would very much promote the good huſbandry of the kingdom.

Another, which I think would alſo be neceſſary, would be to appoint inſpectors of the huſbandry of the kingdom. One might be appointed to every large province, and one might inſpect two or three ſmall ones; whoſe buſineſs

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ſhould be merely the viewing the lands of every diſtinct farmer in his province, taking an account of his crops under every denomination, the number of acres, the manure, the cattle of every ſort, the woods, foreſts, waſtes, and to whom they all belong, with the number of inhabitants of all claſſes and ages. Memorandums ſhould be made of thoſe farmers who ſeemed to excel in any branch of their art, and alſo of the comparative degree of ſuch excellence. In conſequence of theſe accounts, I would have premiums diſtributed to all farmers who excelled; and the beſt that could be deviſed, would be ſums of money given, or in caſes where larger ſums were requiſite, to lend it at low intereſt. It is ſurely of very great conſequence that an induſtrious peaſant, who would cultivate his lands better, and in larger quantity, had he more money; it is ſurely, I ſay, of great conſequence to the nation, that ſuch a man ſhould have the money he wants, even if it was raiſed by a general tax to give it him.

But further, ſmall ſums ſo diſpoſed of, would have greater effects, than to the mere amount of the good they did to the individuals, for they would ſoon raiſe a great emulation among all the farmers and peaſants in

the kingdom; moſt of them would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to gain the like premiums, and, as many would be diſtributed every year, the whole kingdom would, in a few years, reap the good conſequences of them.

By this means alſo, the government would diſcover the real ſtate and condition of every province in the kingdom; it would know the degree of merit its huſbandry poſſeſſed, the proportion of the cultivated to the uncultivated lands, the increaſe or decreaſe of the farmer, the cauſes to which ſuch variations could be attributed, and, in a word, every circumſtance of real importance in the domeſtic œconomy of the nation. I need not ſurely obſerve, that ſuch knowledge would be of infinite uſe to a ſtateſman, or an adminiſtration, in guiding them to ſuch meaſures as were certain of remedying whatever evil was diſcovered. In moſt of the kingdoms of Europe we ſee laws, ordinances, edicts, &c. promulgated, with an intention of favouring agriculture and population; but how few of them are attended with any ſtriking effect? This is owing to their beginning at the wrong end; they attempt the cure before they know the diſeaſe; which in politicks, as well as medicine, is acting diametrically

diametrically contrary to the ſyſtem of experience. Such an annual ſurvey of the kingdom as I have mentioned, would give them a clear inſight into every evil, its nature, and its cauſe; the remedy then would be eaſy and ſure, and they would further diſcover where improvements were poſſible, and practicable; where they would pay the nation nobly for the expence, and in what manner they would be moſt advantageouſly undertaken. If the benefits of ſuch a plan are compared with the expences, they will be found of infinite ſuperiority. Is it not aſtoniſhing, therefore, that we ſhould not ſee ſomething of this performed in ſome of the enlightened nations of Europe, who, from many circumſtances in their conduct, evidently think in general, that too much care cannot be taken to encourage agriculture and the uſeful arts?

This diſcourſe of the learned profeſſor charmed me, his ſentiments were ſo ſtrongly juſt, ſo extremely appoſite; and, at the ſame time, I think I may add original, at leaſt as far as my reading carries me, that it appears to me aſtoniſhing, that there ſhould be ſo many nations in Europe in the predicament here deſcribed, and yet none of them in which ſuch a meaſure has been executed,

or even propoſed. Which ſhews how much the objects of the greateſt importance are neglected; while meaſures, ſo eaſily executed, would put any government readily in the way of diſcovering all the evils which affect the agriculture of a country, and at once enable them to apply the requiſite remedies; and let them, at the ſame time, into the proper method of applying encouragements, ſo as they may have the greateſt effect; is it not aſtoniſhing that all this ſhould remain every where unexecuted!

This great man gave his opinion alſo of ſeveral other points, which would be of great effect in promoting the agriculture of Sweden; all of which appeared to be ſtrictly founded in a deep and comprehenſive knowledge of the ſtate and intereſts of his country; but ſome of them being rather refined, and the converſation not being in Engliſh, but in French, I did not ſufficiently recollect the train of his argument, ſo as to venture a repetition of them. Upon the whole, I never had a more agreeable or inſtructive evening; for, beſides our converſation, Sir Charles Linnæus ſhewed me part of his cabinet of natural hiſtory, to which every part of the world has contributed amply. It was not without reluctance that I took my leave

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of him; nor had Upſal much worthy of notice beſides.

I left Upſal the 5th, and arrived at Stockholm the ſame day, the diſtance is five and thirty miles; the road runs on the banks of the Lake Meler, and, from the high grounds, commands ſome very beautiful views of the innumerable iſlands which are thickly ſcattered through that lake. The country I paſſed is in general very well cultivated, there are many encloſures, and much arable land. Near the city, the land appears to be very rich, and the country very populous; for the villages, farms, and gentlemens ſeats are very numerous. I remarked they chooſe their ſituations for ſuch, upon the ſides of hills facing the ſouth, and, with much taſte, ſeem in general fond of a view of the lake.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Stockholm—State of Agriculture—Arts—Commerce—Government—Factions, &c.

STOCKHOLM, which is the capital of the kingdom, is a finer city than I expected to see from the descriptions I had received of it. The situation is very beautiful and picturesque, being built on seven or eight islands and rocks in the great Lake Meler, which gives it some resemblance of Venice; and this situation, like that of Venice, is such a security to it, that no other fortifications have been thought necessary. It is very well built, the streets in general are broad, strait, and regular; and the public buildings are many of them great ornaments to the place. Among these, the King's palace demands the first attention; this is an old building, and therefore irregular in parts, but it forms a square, and is all raised of stone. It is within a citadel, but the fortifications could not do much in defence of the town; and it is besides commanded by

by an adjoining hill. Conſidering that the palace ſerves for many public uſes, beſides the King's reſidence, it is not only mean but ſmall; all the rooms of the firſt and ſecond floor, are uſed for private meetings of the Senate, and the Courts of Judicature; ſo that the apartments of the royal family are three pair ſtairs high, and ſome of them four.

The Senate-houſe, where the public meetings are, is a very regular and fine edifice, making the beſt figure of any in the town.

The houſes of the nobility are not very magnificent, but ſome of them are handſome, others large and commodious. The Arſenal is a large building, but by no means kept well ſtored: the royal ſtables, and the great hoſpital, alſo make ſome figure; the the bridge of boats, which is 100 yards long, and which they ſhew with ſome degree of vanity, is a paltry ſubſtitute. Among the churches, the principal are St. Nicholas, St. Mary's, St. Catharine's, St. Clare's, St. John's, and St. Olaus's. The King's chapel is more decorated than any of them.

The city carries on the chief trade of the kingdom; the harbour will admit of four hundred great ſhips, and above five hundred ſmall ones at the ſame time, which might

might all ride in the utmoſt ſafety; and they have a quay for the delivery and taking in of goods, near a mile long; and this, I think, is the pleaſanteſt and moſt chearful part of Stockholm. There is a face of buſineſs and activity upon the public quay, which, in a town, is far more lively than the perpetual rattle of coaches. But notwithſtanding it is a place of great trade, and the harbour perfectly ſecure, yet there are difficulties in getting in and out, which are a cramp upon their commerce. There are numerous iſlands in the lake between Stockholm and the ſea, and theſe make the courſe ſo zigzag, that ſeveral winds are neceſſary to carry them in and out; and which is much the worſe for their having no tides, which would grealy aſſiſt the navigation; beſides this, they are quite ſtopped up with ice four months in the year.

Having ſpent a couple of days in viewing the city (being quartered at the Crown inn, which I found a very good and reaſonable one) I thought it time to wait upon Baron Miſtler, with the letter which the Count de Smikelane gave me. Accordingly, on the 7th, I paid my devoirs to him; I found him a middle aged man, remarkably lively and chearful, very well acquainted with the different

rent courts of Europe, having ſpent many years in travelling; he converſes fluently in Engliſh, and almoſt without heſitation, but explains himſelf, in caſe of it, in French. He has a large houſe, extremely well furniſhed in the French and Engliſh manner; indeed, moſt of the things either for uſe or ornament, came from England, France, or Italy. He complained that the Swediſh artiſts were not yet formed, but hoped they would, by and by, be equal to their neighbours.

My friend the Count had let him very well into the deſign of my journey; he informed him, that I was on my travels through the nothern kingdoms, with deſign to gain a better knowledge of their commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and arts, than books could give me; alſo to view the face of the country, and that I had a curioſity to become acquainted with the manners of the inhabitants; that I had ſome years ago travelled through the ſouthern parts of Europe, but was now deſirous of going to ſee, what very few travellers ever thought worth their notice; and laſtly, that he had recommended me to him, as a perſon as proper as any in Sweden to do honour to that kingdom.

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The Baron read the letter with much attention with me, after having run it over before I ſaw him. He aſked me ſignificantly if I came in any public capacity or buſineſs. I underſtood him, and replied, by no means; that I was a private gentleman in England, totally unconnected with government, and was travelling merely to ſatisfy my own curioſity; that the objects of my enquiries might make him ſuppoſe ſuch a thing, but it ſeemed a ſatire upon the general aim of travellers, that none ſhould be ſuppoſed to make uſeful objects their entertainment, as well as frivolous ones. This, he replied, was a very juſt remark, and aſked my pardon for putting the queſtion. He then entered very freely and liberally into a converſation, on the preſent ſtate of his country; in which, however, we were interrupted by ſome viſitors, to whom he introduced me. Afterwards I waited on him thrice, and he gave me ſeveral accounts, ſome of them in writing, which I found valuable, as they let me into a pretty conſiſtent idea of the preſent trade, manufactures, &c. of Sweden. From theſe authorities I have drawn up the following account; which, I believe, will be found much nearer the truth of the preſent

preſent ſtate of that kingdom, than any that are to be met with in books.

The trade of Sweden, and indeed every thing elſe in the kingdom, was left in a moſt miſerable condition at the concluſion of the war with Muſcovy, immediately after the death of Charles XII. Such a languor ſucceeded, that had not much attention been given to improvement, and a change in the conſtitution enſued, it would have taken at leaſt a century to have recovered, and perhaps much more. Many of the wounds then received, are not yet healed; there are tracks of country, in many of the provinces, which once were well peopled, that are at this day deſarts; and the ravages of the Ruſſians deſtroyed ſome valuable copper mines, which are not yet recovered. Within theſe twenty years, much has been done to ſpread improvements; ſo that the country wears a fine face; but all this is not to be called a creation of new induſtry, much of it is only a renovation of that which we long ago enjoyed.

The modern improvers, who have puſhed moſt of the advantageous laws which have been made of late years in favour of commerce, &c. had one principal aim, which was certainly very meritorious; it was to force

force the Swedes, either to manufacture for themſelves, or to go without the commodities formerly imported from abroad; many laws were made with this view; and which, at laſt, ended in an almoſt general prohibition to foreign fabrics. This was very well meant, but it was driving too faſt, and has had ſome conſequences of a complexion by no means agreeable. It is true, ſeveral manufactories were eſtabliſhed in different parts of the kingdom, to enable the people to perform for themſelves, and ſome of them ſucceeded well, but it is a buſineſs of much longer time to make a people a manufacturing nation. The attempt to do it at once, was not only unſucceſsful, but was attended with ſeveral evils to the whole kingdom. Sweden imported, it is true, large quantities of manufactures, but then ſhe paid for all of them, or at leaſt for much the greateſt part, with the products of her ſoil; ſuch as copper, iron, timber, ſhips, flax, hemp, pitch, tar, furs, ſkins, &c. ſo that the nobleman who dreſſed himſelf in French or Engliſh cloths; his wife, who wore French and Italian ſilks; and all who expended their revenue in any foreign import, did, at the ſame time, encourage the lower claſſes of the people, and indeed aſſiſt the whole

whole ſtate, by exporting the above products, in proportion to the goods ſo imported and worn. The legiſlature falſely imagined, that foreigners could not do without thoſe products they bought of Sweden, and paid for with their manufactures; they ſuppoſed they would buy in the ſame proportion, and pay for them with money; but this was at beſt a deluſion, for other nations knew their intereſt as well as the Swedes, and immediately transferred a vaſt portion of their trade to Norway and Ruſſia; the conſequence of which has been, that the copper and iron works, in every province in the kingdom, are diſcontinued, for want of the old demand; and a great number of hands, once employed in the timber trade, have ever ſince ſtood ſtill. That this repreſentation has much truth in it, appears from ſeveral articles of the prohibition being taken off; which ſhews that the legiſlature themſelves thought they had gone too far, when they began in their private eſtates to feel the ill effects of it; but the act was done, and the miſchief was irremediable; the trade was gone, ſo that the partial revocation was of no uſe. This has made them redouble their activity in eſtabliſhing manufactures, which may, in time, recover the blow, by varying the for-

mer advantage; but it muſt be a work of ſome years.

Upon the whole, however, when we read in ſome modern treatiſes, what great things are doing in encouraging all ſorts of uſeful undertakings, we muſt not carry the amount to the account of an addition, as in the caſe of Denmark, and ſome other countries, but, on the contrary, conſider much of them as regaining loſt ground.

Trade now flouriſhes in Sweden, the people are very attentive to it, and ſome of the laws that have been made to encourage it have had good effect. The ſhipping, belonging to the kingdom, is much increaſed in the laſt thirty years; they export more of their commodities in their own bottoms than formerly; which has, in every reſpect, proved a very advantageous thing to them. All their ſhipping, and every article of naval ſtores, are their own product; ſo that an increaſe of it is gaining one of the moſt advantageous markets in the world. Indeed, a very conſiderable article of trade with them, is building ſhips for ſale; in which articles the French and Dutch are the beſt purchaſers. The former, it is well known, once bought a fleet of nine ſail of men of war of the line of them, at one time: and the Dutch

Dutch are regular purchaſers of ſome merchant ſhips; but the chief increaſe of their ſhip building has been for themſelves, in conſequence of an increaſe of their foreign trade, which, it is ſuppoſed, is now, on compariſon with what it was thirty years ago, as five to three, tonnage reckoned.

The eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt India commerce has been of much conſequence to them, in this article of ſhip building, and indeed to all the other branches of commerce in the kingdom; for Eaſt India goods were before bought with caſh, without bringing in any advantages by ſhip building, or the employment of ſeamen; but now the government has obliged the company to export to the Indies a given quantity of Swediſh manufactures; all which exportation is clear profit, beſides the circumſtances mentioned above. This eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt India company in Sweden, employed the ſpeculation of all the trading part of Europe, who pronounced it a viſionary ſcheme, and one which could not poſſibly anſwer; but experience has now told them, that nothing was leſs juſt than this condemnation, for the whole kingdom of Sweden is ſupplied by it, and there is a pretty conſiderable quantity of India goods

exported to Poland, alſo ſome to Germany, and a few to Ruſſia; all which are very great and conſiderable advantages, compared with the time when they themſelves bought their whole home conſumption of the Engliſh and Dutch.

Another ſcheme of trade, which has been partly executed, though not entirely, is to import all their Weſt India commodities in their own bottoms; this was not an eaſy matter to execute, for it is contrary to the laws of all the nations, that have colonies in that part of the world; but certain it is, that in ſpite of all obſtacles of this ſort, they do purchaſe large quantities of ſugar, rum, &c. in the Weſt India iſlands; and another channel, through which they do this buſineſs, is through the Bahama iſlands, where they buy from the account of Boſton merchants, goods which come from the Engliſh iſlands. This plan is not brought fully to bear, but if they get it to be quite ſucceſsful, it will make a conſiderable deduction from the navigation of England, and add it to that of Sweden.

Building ſhips for foreigners has lately received a very laudable bounty of ten ſhillings a ton, which is one of the beſt conſidered meaſures that could have been executed;

cuted; and if this bounty was to be raiſed ſo high, as to enable the Swediſh ſhip carpenters to underſell the Engliſh and Dutch ones by many per cent. in their own yards, it would be a moſt political meaſure, and perhaps give the kingdom a more advantageous market, for moſt of her ſtaple commodities, than all their other methods put together.

Among the manufactures which they have been eager to eſtabiſh, the principal is the woollen. They have in coarſe cloths made ſome progreſs, and begin to work ſome that are fine; an improvement, which has been much owing to their gaining a better breed of ſheep from England, and which have been diſperſed with much aſſiduity over moſt parts of the kingdom. Their own wool was a great impediment in their way; for it was of ſo bad and coarſe a texture, that it would not do, even for coarſe cloth, without being mixed with that of Poland; for theſe purpoſes, they import great quantities from that kingdom; and it is very well for them that they have a nighbour ſo little knowing in her own intereſt, as to permit the exportation of her raw products, to be wrought up by other nations; not, however, that the Poles do not underſtand their own intereſts, but they have the curſe of

ſuch a conſtitution, that nothing for the real advantage of the country can go forward for half an hour. By means of Poliſh wool, mixed with the worſt of their own, the Swedes make tolerable coarſe cloths, and other fabricks; and the beſt they import from Poland, mixed with the beſt of their own, makes a finer cloth, that ſells well at home, and precludes the import of any but the fineſt of all, worn by the nobility and gentry of conſiderable fortunes. Their manufacture of the coarſe ſorts is ſo enlarged by degrees, that they have, for ſome years, exported ſmall quantities of it to Poland; which ſhews how far they have been able to carry their point.

Beſides theſe woollen fabrics, which are in a way of proving conſiderable enough to ſtop totally all importation in time, they have alſo eſtabliſhed ſome of linen, but theſe are not yet advanced ſo far as the former; they make large quantities of a coarſe ſort, which ſells well among the common people; but all the higher claſſes of inhabitants uſe that which comes from England, Holland, or Germany. Preventing this importation is a favourite object with them at preſent, but the beſt judges of their trade think they will never be able to effect it.

Much

Much the greateſt manufactories in Sweden are thoſe of hard ware. They work and caſt their copper and iron into many forms; and make of them a great variety of implements, utenſils, and materials for manufacturing, ſuch as bars and plates of copper and iron, various ſorts of wire, great guns, and numerous other articles in the foundery way. The number of mines of copper and iron in the kingdom is very great, and the forges that work conſtantly, notwithſtanding the decreaſe explained above, form the moſt conſiderable employment of this ſort in the nation. They export vaſt quantities of iron annually, for which England, Holland and France are their beſt cuſtomers; but the Engliſh pay them a balance of trade, amounting to ſome hundred thouſand pounds annually, of which iron and timber are the principal articles they take; whereas the French pay them in nothing but wines, brandies, and manufactures. Formerly ſhe brought great quantities of paper; but the Swedes now ſupply themſelves nearly with all they uſe, except of the finer ſorts. Of all the articles of their trade, iron and timber are the moſt conſiderable; and the beſt politicians among them are ſtrongly of opinion, that theſe articles being of the moſt

certain dependance, ſuch as foreign nations can leaſt do without, and ſuch as are moſt natural in all the operations concerning them to their own people, that, for theſe reaſons, they ought principally to be encouraged. Much has of late years been done in favour of theſe branches; for all the ranks of owners of lands have found, that the proſperity of them has the ſame influence in raiſing the rental and value of their eſtates, as improvements in agriculture itſelf; and for which reaſon, it is to be expected that they will never neglect this part of their domeſtic œconomy.

Reſpecting the improvements which have been made in their huſbandry, taken at large, the grand article has been the preventing the importation of corn from abroad; high duties at firſt, and then a prohibition, have, in this inſtance, been attended with every effect they could wiſh. By quick degrees, they introduced the culture of wheat in many provinces, which before had never thought of ſuch an article of cultivation; and by taking ſeveral proper meaſures for encouraging the peaſants, the point has been ſo thoroughly carried, that Sweden, at preſent, raiſes as much corn as ſhe conſumes, and

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in ſome years more; ſo that a ſmall exportation has taken place more than once.

In the debates which have ariſen at different times, among the members of the legiſlature, on this point of the advancement of huſbandry, they have had, what may be called two parties among them; one who were for eſtabliſhing many rules for the particular inſtruction of peaſants; premiums for their good conduct, for the procuring good farmers from other parts of Europe, to ſet examples; alſo the beſt implements and breeds of cattle; with ſome good workmen for draining of bogs, and bringing waſtes into culture, at the expence of the legiſlature, by way of ſhewing in what manner ſuch works ought to be done. On the contrary, the other party ſtrenuouſly urged, that the execution of all theſe minute ideas would prove very expenſive, and particularly from being obliged to truſt them to many people, and almoſt without controul. That beſides this ſtrong objection, the effects reſulting could not be great or general, but would be confined to ſmall ſpots, from which it might be a century before they would travel over half the kingdom; for this reaſon, they propoſed to omit all ſuch attempts, and confine themſelves to general laws,

laws, which ſhould affect the whole kingdom; ſuch, for inſtance, as the prohibition of the importation of all foreign commodities that could be raiſed at home, and particularly corn; that when this law had taken full effect, then to give the improvement of another, offering bounties upon the exportation of various ſorts of corn, and other commodities, to inſure a quick ſale at a good price, which would be of all other meaſures the moſt likely to induce the farmers to enlarge the culture of them. Other general laws ſhould alſo be brought in aid, to exempt the improvers of waſte lands from all taxes, tithes and public charges for life. Alſo to introduce leaſes, in the tenures of lands, of long duration, with ſeveral other ſchemes of management that had reference to the kingdom at large.

The legiſlature very wiſely followed neither of theſe propoſals in excluſion of the other, but gradually took from both what appeared prudent and likely to be efficacious. They prohibited the importation of corn, upon the plan of one party; and they attended to the minutiæ of agriculture, purſuant to the ideas of the other. Some laws were alſo made concerning leaſes, and improvers were exempted from taxes; but whether

whether they will ever give a bounty on exportation is yet a queſtion. It is the general opinion, that the plan is not dropped, and that the meaſure will be executed, whenever the quantity of corn raiſed at home ſufficiently reduces the price. They ſeem to have this meaſure in idea, ready to apply as a remedy for the price of corn falling too low, in caſe it ſhould ſo happen. This whole meaſure of prohibition, and a bounty on exportation, is copied from England; but if I may here ſpeak in my own perſon, I do not perfectly comprehend the merit of ſuch bounties, either in England or in Sweden; for theſe nations do not ſo much want to raiſe corn for an article of trade, as to enable them to feed a numerous people; and ſurely, it is of much more advantage to them to apply their corn to that neceſſary purpoſe, than to export it. The riches ariſing from an increaſing population, which is always the conſequence of cheapneſs of proviſions, muſt be of far more importance to theſe kingdoms than the money received for the corn. Indeed the payment of bounties is not of any great moment, as they are paid by the ſubjects of the government.

I think, it cannot be doubted, but the moſt advantageous conſumption of corn is that

that at home; for the people muſt increaſe pretty much in proportion to the low price of neceſſaries; we ſee that the increaſe of population is prodigious in North America, and which muſt be attributed to the great eaſe of gaining land, which produces the neceſſaries of life; for which reaſon a government, it ſhould ſeem, ought to encourage the growth of corn as much as poſſible, and alſo take every other ſtep to render it as cheap as poſſible, for then the people will increaſe in proportion to it; an aim much ſuperior to the ſums of money which any trade can bring in. I remember to have read in tracts printed in England ſome years ago, that the bounty, by giving a market, encouraged the farmers to raiſe more corn than they would otherwiſe do; and this is the idea which they have got in Sweden. But ſuppoſing it ever ſo true, will not an increaſing people cauſe a greater conſumption, and conſequently make a market equally as good? Of what conſequence is it to the farmer, whether he ſells his wheat to a merchant at five ſhillings a buſhel, or to a miller at the ſame price? So that this argument appears to me to be begging the queſtion.

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If the progreſs of agriculture in England, is quoted as a proof of the benefits which have reſulted from the bounty, it might have been replied, that that progreſs may not have been owing ſo much to this meaſure as to the increaſe of people, proceeding from the great commerce and manufactories which have been eſtabliſhed, and which have been perpetually on the increaſe. It is for theſe reaſons, that I am inclined to believe, the legiſlature of Sweden would act more for the benefit of their country, if they firſt encouraged the growth of corn, and then the conſumption of it at home, which is beſt done by a collateral encouragement of arts, manufactures, commerce, and all other means of enriching the people; for the richer they are, the more numerous will they be, and at the ſame time the better able to purchaſe the farmer's corn. But this a ſubject of too much conſequence to be decided on from ſo ſlight an examination, it well deſerves the attention of the moſt finiſhed politicians. To return:

Encouragement has alſo been given in Sweden to ſeveral other things, particularly in the making great roads, in improving ſome inland navigation, and alſo to the body of artiſts in the kingdom. Reſpecting roads, there

exported to Poland, alſo ſome to Germany, and a few to Ruſſia; all which are very great and conſiderable advantages, compared with the time when they themſelves bought their whole home conſumption of the Engliſh and Dutch.

Another ſcheme of trade, which has been partly executed, though not entirely, is to import all their Weſt India commodities in their own bottoms; this was not an eaſy matter to execute, for it is contrary to the laws of all the nations, that have colonies in that part of the world; but certain it is, that in ſpite of all obſtacles of this ſort, they do purchaſe large quantities of ſugar, rum, &c. in the Weſt India iſlands; and another channel, through which they do this buſineſs, is through the Bahama iſlands, where they buy from the account of Boſton merchants, goods which come from the Engliſh iſlands. This plan is not brought fully to bear, but if they get it to be quite ſucceſsful, it will make a conſiderable deduction from the navigation of England, and add it to that of Sweden.

Building ſhips for foreigners has lately received a very laudable bounty of ten ſhillings a ton, which is one of the beſt conſidered meaſures that could have been executed;

cuted; and if this bounty was to be raiſed ſo high, as to enable the Swediſh ſhip carpenters to underſell the Engliſh and Dutch ones by many per cent. in their own yards, it would be a moſt political meaſure, and perhaps give the kingdom a more advantageous market, for moſt of her ſtaple commodities, than all their other methods put together.

Among the manufactures which they have been eager to eſtabiſh, the principal is the woollen. They have in coarſe cloths made ſome progreſs, and begin to work ſome that are fine; an improvement, which has been much owing to their gaining a better breed of ſheep from England, and which have been diſperſed with much aſſiduity over moſt parts of the kingdom. Their own wool was a great impediment in their way; for it was of ſo bad and coarſe a texture, that it would not do, even for coarſe cloth, without being mixed with that of Poland; for theſe purpoſes, they import great quantities from that kingdom; and it is very well for them that they have a nighbour ſo little knowing in her own intereſt, as to permit the exportation of her raw products, to be wrought up by other nations; not, however, that the Poles do not underſtand their own intereſts, but they have the curſe of

tures; for as I there ſet forth the ill conſequences of depriving a vaſt number of people of an old market for their wood, iron, &c. the miſchief was felt by the public income, as well as by thoſe individuals; for the manufactures, which were then prohibited, paid conſiderable cuſtoms on importation, moſt of which were loſt by that meaſure; ſo that the revenue, which, all taken together, amounted before that meaſure to about twelve hundred thouſand pounds a year, ſcarcely reaches that ſum at preſent, although ſeveral new taxes upon articles of luxury have been ſince laid on. Several perſons much experienced in the revenue aſſert, that it will be many years before it recovers theſe ſtrokes; that all the late improvements muſt have time to ripen into perfection, and ſpread a free and conſiderable circulation through the kingdom, before the national coffers will fill from them.

As to the military power of the Swedes, the change in the conſtitution upon the death of Charles XII. ſunk it entirely to the militia, except a few guards for the King's perſon; the former is entirely upon the old ſyſtem, they are maintained by the farmers; but the number, which was once 60,000 men,

men, is not at preſent more than 42,000; however they are very well diſciplined, and ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom againſt any force that is likely to march againſt it. Sweden has nothing to fear but from Ruſſia; and whilſt ſhe leaves the conquered provinces peaceably in the hands of the Moſcovites, which undoubtedly ſhe will do, there is not any danger of their diſturbing her poſſeſſion of the remainder. The fleet of Sweden was once pretty conſiderable, amounting to forty good ſhips of war; but it is much declined. They could not ſend out to ſea twenty ſail of the line in good order, ſo that their power is not equal to that of Denmark by ſea; nor that of Ruſſia. Theſe are circumſtances in which Sweden has been very remiſs; it is ſaving money to a very bad purpoſe; for a nation that wiſhes to be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable trade and commerce, ſhould never neglect her marine, which ever was, and ever muſt be, eſſential to the preſervation and well being of trade; and this ſhews, that the ideas of national improvement in Sweden are but crude, and not near brought to that degree of propriety as to produce thoſe new and great advantages they want. Nothing is of ſo much importance to a trading power, as a mari-

time force; for all commerce without it, is precarious. France has made for a century immenſe efforts for raiſing a great trade, but all of them have been nearly unſucceſsful, from her being more ſolicitous in the ſame period to keep up a formidable army, than a ſtrong and well regulated navy, ſufficient to guard her commerce in times of war. Nothing is ſo difficult to rear as a trade that has been once ruined. It is a great miſtake to ſuppoſe, that the preſent ſtate of France contradicts this maxim; on the contrary, it confirms it; for France once poſſeſſed a flouriſhing trade, but it hath never aroſe again to its former proſperity, after once being demoliſhed by a ſuperior force at ſea. The bringing home the product of colonies can ſcarcely be called trade, which may be done as well almoſt without a navy as with it; and which is evident in the courſe of the communication between France and her colonies, after the total deſtruction of her ſhipping by the Engliſh, in every war from King William's time to the preſent.

But to return to Sweden, I muſt acknowledge, that hitherto I have given the moſt favourable view of all the internal affairs of this kingdom. I have been minutely exact in ſpecifying the information I have received, but

but then it came from ſome noblemen, who have been among many others very deep in political convulſions, that have harraſſed the legiſlature of Sweden. All Europe well knows the political ſquabbles, which have much diſgraced that country; accounts have been publiſhed in numberleſs Gazettees, which ſeem to have been deſigned merely to repreſent the kingdom in the moſt deplorable ſituation. Whatever is circulated by a party, ever carries marks of prejudice and unfair repreſentation; it may be replied, that I have my intelligence from a party, and therefore, that it equally wants the ſtamp of impartiality; and I agree that this is in ſome meaſure the fact. But then, in extenuation, I ſay, that what I have principally reported, concerns facts alone; I have kept clear from giving party, or even national reflections, which always attend them; and another ſtrong motive for my giving a repreſentation of the affairs, or rather facts, concerning the preſent ſtate of Sweden, from the information I received from ſome very reſpectable noblemen, is, that all the accounts which I have lately read, ſeem to have been dictated by the oppoſite party, and to which I was the more inclined, from my ſetting out through the paſſage of the Sound quite to

Stockholm. But the appearances of things carried no ſuch marks of ruin and deſolation, as foreign prints had given me to expect; I looked for nothing but falling houſes and neglected lands, deſerted by emigrating inhabitants; but found nothing of this; from whence I was lead to think that theſe repreſentations were ſomething of the nature of thoſe, which are ſo common in my own country, which even in the moſt flouriſhing times, attempt to prove the kingdom in the high road to ruin. But let the reader carry with him the authority, on which I give my report, and remember, that, in theſe caſes, which are certainly of real importance to be known by other powers, it is of conſequence to be informed of the truth, and which can never be nearly gueſſed at, while only one ſide of the queſtion is heard.

I have with all the attention of which I am maſter, avoided giving any particulars relative to the preſent ſtate of parties and politicks in this country. I think them to be no objects of an inquiſitive traveller; they change every day; there is nothing ſtable in them; all intelligence that concerns them is full of prejudice and misinformation; nothing is ſo inſipid to foreign readers, nothing

thing carries with it ſo little uſeful intelligence, of which truth we have in England many inſtances ſufficiently ſtrong; for how few ſpeeches are made in the Houſe of Commons, which would convey any uſeful facts to foreigners? Are not our news-paper and our pamphleteer complaints, which denounce immediate ruin upon the kingdom, with half the clamours of coffee-houſe politicians, are they not, I ſay, perfectly ſenſeleſs and forgotten ſquabbles in a very few years? This, I think, ſhould guard every writer from venturing to mix ſuch temporary politicks with matters of laſting duration and real importance. Trade, manufactures, arts, and agriculture are intereſting to all the world, but the ſphere of perſonal politicks is extremely ſmall.

It is for theſe reaſons, that I paſs entirely over the diſmal factions, which, at preſent diſgrace the government of Sweden. I ſincerely hope, that in a few years all parties will be indued with more moderation, and a general harmony ariſe from the experience of thoſe evils, which faction cauſes to them all.

CHAP. VIII.

Journey from Stockholm to Oregrond—Hedemora—Deſcription of the Country—Journey through the Province of Dalecarlia—Deſcription of the Country—Its People—Manners—Huſbandry—Employment.

I LEFT Stockholm the 11th, taking the road for Oregrond, the diſtance forty ſeven miles; which, with ſome difficulty, I reached by night, through a country which ranks among the beſt I have ſeen in Sweden, and in which I obſerved ſeveral ſeats of the nobility and gentry very well built, with a good appearance of ſuperior cultivation around them. Oregrond is a ſea port on the gulph of Bothnia, tolerably well ſituated for trade, eſpecially that of timber. From a hill near the town, is a moſt beautiful view of the gulph, with a great part of Finland on the other ſide; the iſlands of Aland ſpot the ſea in a moſt picturesque manner. There were ſeven ſhips in the harbour, loading deals for Holland; they told me the trade of this place has been but lately acquired

acquired, but that it increaſes, and will ſoon be conſiderable. From Oregrond, I ſet out the 12th for Hedemora, the diſtance of one hundred miles; and which, from the rockyneſs and dangerouſneſs of the roads, took me up four days, ſo that I did not arrive there before the 15th at night. The three firſt nights I ſet up my bed in the houſes of peaſants, in ſmall vilages, not paſſing through any towns: the country is very wild and various, hills and dales, mountains and rocks, bogs, rivers and lakes, all mixed thickly with a ſmall quantity of cultivated and profitable land. All the peaſants here are farmers, and moſt of them own the lands they cultivate; their houſes are very well built of wood, and covered with ſhingles, the materials being to be had in the utmoſt plenty; they are much better, and more comfortable dwellings, than the cottages of mud, covered with thatch, which are ſo common in England. Their furniture is of their own manufacturing, conſiſting of very little more than what they make of their friendly pines. All of them handle the ſaw and the axe with as much agility as our peaſants uſe the ſpade and the pickaxe, nor do they make bad or clumſy work; for their chairs, tables, beds, &c. are very decently cut and put together.

gether. They ſeem to be a very happy and contented people; each has his farm divided into regular incloſures around his houſe, and which the women almoſt totally cultivate, while the men are employed in cutting timber in the foreſts, for they have a conſiderable river, down which they float vaſt quantities. In their huſbandry, theſe women ſeemed to be tolerably underſtanding; they do all the ploughing, which is not indeed laborious work, for I ſaw ſeveral ploughs going with a ſingle ox in them, and others with a ſingle cow, and not of a large breed. They always fix their houſes in the midſt of a vale of dry ſoil, upon a rock, if they can chooſe, ſo that all the works of tillage are performed with great eaſe. They cultivate but very little wheat, though their land appears to be good enough for any product; oats, and a little barley, with a good many beans, are their chief crops; but theſe ſeem to bear no proportion to their fields of Swediſh turnips, and alſo another ſort, which, they informed me, does very well in the ſevereſt climates, and is more generally cultivated in the northern parts of the kingdom: upon theſe turnips I found they principally depended for their own diet, as well as that of their cattle; and their horſes in winter have no

other

other food; their breed is ſmall, but very ſtrong, uncommonly hardy, and very ſure footed, going down the moſt rocky mountain's ſides. If the roads continue, as I expect, to grow worſe and worſe, as I advance northward, I ſhall not know what to do with my chaiſe and ſouth country nags; for I muſt have recourſe to theſe little mountain ponies, which will enable me to travel forty miles a day, in the worſt roads; whereas five and twenty is now a hard day's work for me. In the preparation they make for their crops, they plough four or five times, and manure richly with a compoſt of of the dung they raiſe in winter with vaſt quantities of wood aſhes; they ſeldom ſow a crop without previouſly making a vaſt pile of offal wood as near as they can, and ſetting fire to it for the ſake of the aſhes; and their crops are very good, raiſing to an equality of four quarters an acre Engliſh, of whatever corn or pulſe they ſow; and which crops they attribute entirely, and I ſuppoſe very juſtly, to the manuring of the wood-aſhes and dung. Their turnips yield a very conſiderable produce; one acre is ſufficient to winter two head of cattle. They have ſome meadows, which are artificial, having been improved by them from the waſte, and with good effect;

effect; where they were too wet, they dig ditches, and ſpread the earth that came out upon the land; and then they finiſh the improvement by manuring plentifully with wood-aſhes, which bring up conſiderable crops of good graſs; nor do they think the expence of theſe works great. But I ſhould remark, that they have an advantage, and a prodigious one, which is of the women labouring almoſt as hard as the men; ſo that their induſtry is in effect doubled.

Hedemora is a little town, well ſituated on a conſiderable river, down which they carry large quanties of timber and iron for exportation. The 16th I got to Jahtun, which which was all I could do, though the diſtance is little more than twenty miles. This fixed me in the determination of changing my way of travelling, and the rather, as I had found the climate regularly fine, ſince I landed in Sweden. It was abſolutely neceſſary, for the landlord, at a very neat and agreeable inn here, told me, that no carriage could carry me among the mountains of Delacarlia, which has been repreſented to me as a part of Sweden extremely well worth viewing. From hence, therefore, I diſpatched my chaiſe for Stockholm, with a letter to Baron Miſtler, informing him of my

error,

error, and begging he would order the chaiſe and horſes to be ſold, and remit me the money to M. de Verſpot, in Middelpade. I directed the man to buy a Swediſh mountaineer, for bringing him back, appointing him to come to Jahtun, and follow me with all expedition into Dalecarlia; and in caſe I ſhould have been too quick to be overtaken, appointed Hudwickſwald, upon the ſea coaſt, for the rendezvous. Having diſpatched this buſineſs, I made enquiries after ſome horſes, and was preſently ſupplied by the peaſants, with one for myſelf, another for my interpreter, and three for my bed and baggage, which, they aſſured me, would require no driving, but would follow regularly, according to their conſtant habit, go where we would. Theſe five horſes coſt me but ſixteen pounds Engliſh; it took me up a day at Jahtun to get ſaddles, bridles, packs, and other accoutrements fitted.

The 18th in the morning, I began my march towards Grenge, a little village in Dalecarlia, at forty miles diſtance; and this I performed in one day, with much more eaſe and pleaſure than I ſhould have done in my chaiſe in two, although I ſtopped ſome hours to view a very large copper work. They told me, that no ſtrangers ever came into

into that country, without going down into the mine, but I had been at the bottom of ſo many, that I had not the leaſt curioſity to enter this. The village of Grenge ſtands in a little romantic valley, at the foot of a ridge of mountains, with a beautiful lake in front of it. All the hills here, and nine tenths of the country in general, are covered with wood; but the people have farms in the vales, on a very fine, light, black ſoil, which, I ſuppoſe, is entirely formed of rotten vegetables, which time has waſhed down from the mountains. Their crops, I found, upon enquiry, were very great, and all of them had many fields of turnips; and a white ſort of carrot was here cultivated for their cattle and themſelves; it has a root like a parſnip, with a carrot top; they ſhewed me ſome remaining of laſt years crop, which were ſtanding for ſeed. They eat it boiled, in the ſame manner as turnips, and generally with buck wheat flower made into pottage; and their cattle of all ſorts are as fond of them as of turnips. The crops are not, however, ſo great, as of that root; but then they have, in another reſpect, a ſuperiority, which is thriving well on their worſt lands, and without any manure. Buck wheat is a common crop, and they often ſow and reap it in

ſeven weeks; it yields well with them on their worſt lands, if tolerably ſheltered.

The 19th, I continued my journey to Epſebode, another little village, three and forty miles from Grenge, through a moſt mountainous and wild country, chiefly covered with foreſts; but here and there you paſs little villages in the hollow vales, ſurrounded with cultivation enough for their ſupport. In two or three places, I ſaw plains of greater extent, which ſeemed to be all well cultivated; the corn was up high and green, and appeared as good as any I remember to have ſeen in England. Let me remark, that the peaſants do not cultivate as much as they could, but all ſeem to confine their endeavours to ſmall farms, ſufficient for the full maintenance of their families. I am convinced, that vaſt tracks of country, among theſe mountains, might be rendered very profitable farms; for the ſoil is in many places equally good, accord-to the accounts they gave me, as what they had under culture; but there is a want of people, as well as of an attention in the peaſants, to make the culture of the earth their dependance equally with their foreſts; but they are ſo bred to cutting, chopping, and ſawing of trees, that they never think of huſ-

huſbandry, but leave the management of their farms to their wives and daughters.

The 20th I propoſed reaching Malun, a village between thirty and forty miles from Eplebode, but in croſſing a river at Jerna, or rather a torrent, which pours raging over a cliſt of rocks, a horſe that carried part of my baggage, by a falſe ſtep, fell down a ſmall precipice, and was killed, and his load was driven by the ſtream, from a girth breaking, ſome way down the river, into ſo wild a place that it was with ſome difficulty I could perſuade the peaſants to attempt the recovering it: by a conſiderable bribe, however, three of them were induced to follow the torrent, on the edge of the precipice, until they met with it, ſtopped by the rocks or broken trees, and which I was clear, from the appearance of the ſcene, could not be far. This obliged me to fix my lodging at Jerna, and it was noon the next day before they returned; they brought, however, the cloak-bags, with no other damage than being very wet; which was fortunate for me, as I ſhould, in the remainder of my journey, have been much diſconcerted by the loſs. Waiting upon account of this accident, gave me a longer opportunity than I ſhould otherwiſe have had,

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to make enquiries into the domeſtic œconomy of thoſe peaſants. The whole country looks as if there was not any private property in it; but I found that theſe foreſts and wilds had owners, as well as more cultivated provinces. There are ſome gentlemens ſeats in Dalecarlia, as I was informed, though I ſaw none; and their ſtewards and agents employ the peaſants in cutting timber, in drawing pitch and tar, and in making charcoal, on their accounts, paying them, in general, by meaſure and tale; their rates of labour are not high, few of them earning more than four pence or five pence a day, Engliſh, though they are induſtrious and uſed to hard labour; but this pay is ſufficient for maintaining them very well, with the help of their farms, as their wives dung them, and very old men do the principal buſineſs of them. All the purchaſes they have to make with money are ſome parts of their cloathing, which is extremely coarſe and cheap, and alſo utenſils and implements, all which are bought of travelling pedlars, for I do not apprehend there are three ſhops for buying them in this immenſe province. As their money is ſufficient therefore to their wants, theſe being all the uſes of it, except ſome very

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ſlight taxes, they have very few inſtances among them of unhappineſs on account of the want of money; nor do I any where remember ſeeing a people, that had more appearances of perfect content and happineſs among them. They are bleſſed with an almoſt uninterrupted flow of health, which is owing to the hardineſs of their lives, attended with wholſome diet: a bolder, braver, hardier race of men, I apprehend, do not exiſt than the Delacarlians; indeed, manhood, in all the active vigour of undaunted courage, attended with a proportionable degree of ſtrength, is never found but among the mountaineers; the inhabitants of fertile plains are effeminate, compared to them. This idea is finely ſtarted and illuſtrated by Monteſquieu; and had he travelled through this province, he would have had abundance of reaſon, in every peaſant he met, to have been convinced of the truth of his obſervation, and the deductions, which he has drawn from the hiſtories of ſo many nations.

The Dalecarlians that I have hitherto met with, appear to be a very honeſt, ſimple, but plainly ſenſible people; they are as hoſpitable as can well be conceived, inſomuch, that had I been eager and attentive to take advan-

advantage of this good diſpoſition, I ſhould have travelled through their province, ſpending nothing but good words: indeed, money is ſo ſcarce here, that paying them what they demanded, without the leaſt heſitation, and forcing money upon ſome of them, ſtill my expences in travelling were low beyond conception. I have ſeveral days travelled forty miles, and paid for myſelf, man, and five horſes, with two or three meals, and a night's lodging, only the value of three ſhillings Engliſh. Indeed I took up with the food of the peaſants, fat at their board, and was particular in nothing but ſetting up my own bed. This was a mode of travelling extremely deſirable in ſo wild a country, where the peaſants are the only people in it, that demand the leaſt attention; and whoever is fond of ſeeing the ſtrong variations of human life and manners, would, with the utmoſt pleaſure, accept the company of Dalecarlian peaſants: but I had another ſtrong motive for reliſhing this method of travelling, which was the opportunity it gave me of making enquiries into the domeſtic œconomy of the country through which I paſſed; and by habituating myſelf to look with ſome degree of curioſity upon every piece of cultivated land, and by aſking

many queſtions concerning their manage-ment and ſucceſs, I came at length to find real entertainment in the buſineſs, and gained a ſmattering of knowledge in the art of agriculture. Indeed I have reaſon to to regret, that this knowledge is merely theoretical, for it is my misfortune, though I reſided long in the country, to have none practical, not having then any idea that huſbandry could yield entertainment to any but uncultivated minds, or admit of ſuch variations as I have ſince experienced. In theſe, as in other things, we are apt to be the children of cuſtom; and he, who ſets out from home, with a painter's idea, will run with freſh pleaſure from picture to picture, through the longeſt journey; it is the ſame with the other arts; and I feel, at preſent, in the enquiries I take all occaſions of making into the ſtate of agri-culture, arts, manufactures, and commerce, an increaſing pleaſure, as I proceed in gain-ing more intelligence of them.

The 21ſt I reached Lyma, the diſtance of near forty miles, having bought another horſe at Jerna. The country, as I advanced, grew amazingly romantic; the view, as far as the eye can command, from the tops of the mountains, is one vaſt range of moun-

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tain beyond mountain, till you ſee the ridge that parts Sweden from Norway, riſing far above the common clouds. The whole proſpect is a thick woodland; and, in many places, very conſiderable lakes, of ſome miles long and broad, break upon the eye; nothing can be more awful or more ſublime than theſe wonderful ſcenes. The ſituation of the village of Lyma is greatly uncommon; it lies within the bend of a river, which is in fact a continual waterfall, pouring over one ridge of rocks the moment it has paſſed another, and making ſuch a continual roar as almoſt to ſtun the whole village; immediately behind it riſes a ridge of mountains, whoſe tops are, in cloudy weather, far above the clouds; but fortunately for me, the weather has been uniformly clear. The appearance of theſe dreadful heights, with the torrent pouring down at their feet, is magnificent in the higheſt degree. I have viewed mountains, rocks, waterfalls, and lakes, in the north of England, and yet more in Scotland, but they are pigmies compared with theſe. There is an impreſſion in theſe ſcenes that ſtrikes the ſpectator with a far ſuperior degree of awe.

The villages here have a very neat reſemblance to one another, only the quantities of cultivated land vary; there are a good many farms at Lyma, and I think, in general, larger than at the villages I have yet come to; here are many that reach ſixty and ſeventy Engliſh acres; and one, which is extraordinary in this country, where the farmer depends alone upon his huſbandry. Hearing of ſuch a one, made me deſirous of ſeeing him, ſo that in the morning of the 22d, I paid him a viſit; his farm is more than three hundred Engliſh acres, and he employs five peaſants in the culture of it regularly; beſides three ſons, himſelf, his wife, and a daughter. I rode over his whole farm, and was much entertained; for he is a ſenſible and very intelligent fellow, giving me not only plain facts, but the reaſon for them. His farm is ſituated partly in the vale, and partly on the ſide of a mountain, but not ſteep; it is all divided into incloſures; thoſe in the vale by ditches, with hedges of various woods; and thoſe on the hill with pines, ſet ſo cloſe as almoſt to touch in the bodies, and the branches, cut regularly, form a very fine fence. A moſt ſingular circumſtance attended this man (his name is Peter Sligwelhurſt) all that part

part of his farm, which lies on the ſide of the mountain, is of his own improving; it was a waſte, where the peaſants had burned the trees and rubbiſh, and carried away all the aſhes; but lying handily for his vale lands, he attempted to cultivate a part of it, but without any ſucceſs: in a few years after, he remarked, that a little rill of water, which had broken from a ſmall ſtream, and came down from the mountain ſide, had ſpread itſelf over a part of this neglected land; and in a year after this accident, which happened from the ſhivering of a rock, he took notice, that the land, over which this little water went, was of a fine verdure, from a full growth of graſs; he examined it, and found the land quite ſound, and no bog formed; he cut the graſs for hay, it made what was very good, and was conſumed by the cattle with eagerneſs. He had ſenſe enough to eſteem this as an uſeful diſcovery, as it pointed out to him a method of improving this waſte track, and making it very profitable. He immediately incloſed a field of ten acres, and cut little channels to bring the water all over it, and the effect was equal; he gained by it the beſt piece of graſs or any in his farm: this encouraged him to

take in another field of as many acres, over which he alſo brought the water, and it proved equally beneficial with the preceding; and in this manner he proceeded, every year taking in ten acres of land, which he has continued to the preſent time, gaining in the whole, one hundred and thirty acres by this method; but there is not above ten acres more over which he can throw the water. He has been forced to vary his flooding, ſtopping the water in ſome fields, while he throws it over others; and this has proved better for the land than keeping it conſtantly on one. He ſtops it time enough in ſummer for a growth of hay; and while that is growing, he throws it over thoſe fields that are fed, and contrives to feed and mow interchangeably.

This diſcovery of improving waſte land, by water running over it, and converting it to be profitable, may, I apprehend, turn out of great utility in every country; for there are, in all mountainous ones, very numerous tracks that would admit ſuch a watering as this with the greateſt eaſe, and, comparatively ſpeaking, at no expence; but for want of the fact being known, ſuch trials have not been made. The ſucceſs of this ſenſible farmer, convinced the neighbouring

bouring peaſants of the benefit of it, before he had got half through his improvements; all of them, that had waſte lands adjoining the mountains, and over which they could carry little rills of water, immediately did it, and their ſucceſs has been anſwerable to his; which ſhews, that it is not any thing peculiar in his ſoil or water, but common to all. And ſome of theſe peaſants have undertaken this improvement about three miles off, where there is a large ſhelving plain, with ſeveral broken ſtreams, that come down from the tops of the hills, and are proſecuting their watering and incloſures very briſkly. It has alſo reached the village of Lynſtone, eight miles off, where ſeveral peaſants have practiſed it with ſucceſs.

Farmer Sligwelhurſt is not a good huſbandman in this inſtance only, I viewed his arable lands with much pleaſure; they are well tilled, very free from weeds, and his crops make a moſt promiſing appearance. He grows wheat, barley, oats, peaſe, beans, turnips, white carrots, and a ſort of potatoe which I had not ſeen before; it is of a greeniſh caſt, grows to a large ſize, and is much reliſhed by the peaſants. He manures with the common compoſt of

wood aſhes and dung; and as he ploughs his land often and well, gets fine crops: of wheat he has up to three quarters an acre; of barley, two and an half; of oats and peaſe, four quarters; and of a dwarf ſort of hardy bean, five quarters not unfrequently. An acre of his turnips, with good management, winters three head of cattle; an acre of carrots as many; and the potatoes yield ſo conſiderably, that he keeps many hogs entirely on them.

I enquired of him where he found a market for the products of his farm, as almoſt every family, I had obſerved, had a little farm of their own; he ſaid, that his principal commodities for ſale, were butter and cheeſe, and ſalted pork, beef, and mutton, with ſome wool; and which he ſends in panniers on horſes, to a river about ſixteen miles from him, which is navigable for boats to Lake Silia, where there are factors who purchaſe all ſorts of commodities, which they reſell to the miners of Geſtricia: and this he reckoned a very advantageous market to go to, as it was conſiderable enough to take off much greater quantities than all Dalecarlia could produce, they being principally ſupplied acroſs the gulph from Finland, &c.

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Thoſe are circumſtances, which, I own, make me wonder very much, that greater quantities of the lands of this country are not cultivated. I ſhould apprehend, indeed the fact is as plain as any can be, that they would admit it; for this farmer, who is acquainted with all the country around for many miles, told me, that he knows many plains that contain thouſands of acres, and innumerable ſpots on the ſides of hills, from one to two or three hundred acres each, which would admit of every improvement and culture which he has practiſed; ſo that it is a miſtaken idea to imagine, that becauſe a country is extremely mountainous, that therefore it will admit of very little culture. Delacarlia, they told me at Stockholm, was a country but little ſuperior to Lapland, and aſſured me, that I ſhould ſee nothing but rugged mountains, and boundleſs foreſts; the face of it in general is ſo; but the ſpots that are in fertility are equal to any plains, are very numerous, and would of themſelves make a very fine province. They want nothing but people, properly convinced of the importance of agriculture; and ſuch a people, a government in harmony, and really zealous to cultivate a country, could preſently get. I am perſuaded,

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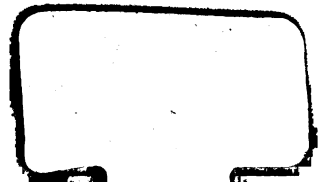
from what I have ſeen of the Dalecarlians, that if an exemption from the poll-tax was allowed to every farmer who incloſed and improved fifty acres of waſte land, it would, give a new face to abundance of the territory. This tax is not ſevere, but they think it diſgraceful, becauſe the province was once exempted from it.

In the morning of the 23d, I took my leave of the induſtrious Sligwelhurſt, and went to Serna, which is two and thirty miles; where I met with nothing worthy of obſervation. It is a little village, the peaſants of which have nothing more than gardens. The whole country is, however, amazingly magnificent, as the eye commands ſuch ranges of thick wood as to be almoſt unbounded.

From Serna, I turned full Eaſt to Herdala, the diſtance near ſixty miles, which took me up two days; through a country, in which there is a very broad and conſiderble flat track of land, with a river in the middle of it. It is, as I gueſs, twenty miles acroſs, and of a far greater length. I ſuppoſe, Sweden does not contain a richer track of land, yet very little of it is cultivated; much of it is bog, ſome marſh, but moſt of it a dry, deep, rich, ſound loam. At Herdala,

dala, my ſervant overtook me from Stockholm, having traced me by the information of the peaſants.

From thence I ſet off the 26th, for Linſdal, a village at the diſtance of fourſcore miles, in the province of Helſingia; and which proved a journey of three days, through a more romantic, wild, and mountainous country than any I had yet ſeen.

Here therefore ends my travels through Dalecarlia, in which, I muſt own, I have met with very great ſatisfaction. The honeſt plainneſs of the inhabitants, conſiſting totally of a race of peaſants, gave me as much pleaſure as the awful ſublimity of the country raiſed my aſtoniſhment. Nature may be ſaid to reign in full majeſty in theſe wild and almoſt deſart tracks; but whatever may be their character, a view of them is moſt certainly worthy the attention of the moſt cultivated minds, for they may here read leſſons as ſtriking, and as intereſting, as any in the moſt refined and poliſhed countries.

End of the Second Volume.